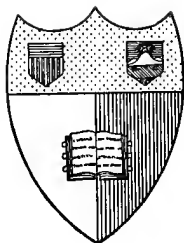


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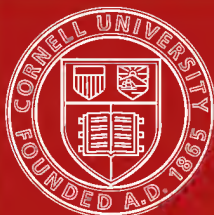
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LABOR AND THE WAR



American Federation of Labor *and the* Labor Movements of Europe and Latin America



PRICE, 50 CENTS

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DECEMBER, 1918

LABOR AND THE WAR

AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND THE
LABOR MOVEMENTS OF EUROPE
AND LATIN AMERICA

From the Proceedings of the Conventions of
1914-15-16-17-18 American Federation of Labor
and from The American Federationist

and

Labor's Book of All Colors
as Published in the American Federationist
November and December, 1916,
January, May, and November, 1917, and
April, 1918

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FOREWORD

For the purpose of placing before all who may be interested the fullest possible information upon the subjects indicated in the title, this pamphlet is published.

In addition it should be stated that in August, 1918, two American Labor missions visited Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy. The first mission consisted of: Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; John P. Frey, Editor International Molders' Journal; C. L. Baine, Secretary Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; Edgar Wallace, former Editor United Mine Workers' Journal; W. J. Bowen, President Bricklayers and Masons' International Union.

The personnel of the second mission: James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League of North America; F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; John Golden, President United Textile Workers of America; Michael Green, President United Hatters of North America; Peter Josephine, member Granite Cutters' International Association.

These two missions returned to the United States the first part of November. At the time this pamphlet is prepared, the opportunity has not been afforded for these two missions to make their formal reports to the A. F. of L.; hence their omission from this pamphlet. These reports when made will be submitted to the 1919 convention of the American Federation of Labor or published in pamphlet form or in the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

International Relations in 1914

From the report of the Executive Council in the Philadelphia Convention, November, 1914, which was unanimously adopted:

INTERNATIONAL WAR AND PEACE

A stupendous conflict is shaking to its foundations the structure of world civilization. The normal relations of commerce and interchange have been disrupted. In Europe values placed upon the interests and purposes of human activity have been reversed.

Before the war, the thought and effort of civilization were centered upon the development and the glorification of human life. One life was counted of infinite value. The end of progress, development, and work was that each individual might have life more abundantly. Indefatigable minds have forced understanding of the unknown that human life might be protected and conserved, and that all the forces and resources of the universe might be put under the control of the will of man. Hearts that were great with love and understanding of the yearnings and aspirations that lie in every life sought to bring beauty and joy into the common life of all. Over all the world was felt the stir of that great ideal—the fellowship of men.

But since the cataclysm that brought war between nations, all the skill, the inventions, the knowledge of civilization have been perverted to purposes of destruction of human life and devastation of the products of human labor. Men are treated as only military pawns to obey implicitly the command of the general. They are targets for the most perfect guns and destructive ammunition human minds have invented. Things are valued for their life-destroying power. Guns are worth more than men. The value of military position is estimated in terms of human lives. The life and property of the individual are ruthlessly sacrificed to ends of war.

The cruelty and butchery of the war are appalling. The waste and the suffering in its wake are heart-rending. The blackened homes, the ruined lives, the long procession of homeless, seeking food and shelter from the hands of strangers—all these are the products of war. There are nations that are sending the flower of their manhood to meet almost certain death. The strong, the healthy, the fit leave the work of the nation to the old and the very young, to women and to children. For centuries the nations will suffer from this mad, stupid waste—for the fathers of the next generations will be the unfit physically and mentally, those whose vision or hearing is imperfect, those of undersize and subnormal development.

Yet this war, with its terrific toll of human lives, is the product of artificial conditions and policies and is repugnant to the thought and political progress of the age. The big things of life and civilization are international. But so far we have made little effort or progress in providing agencies for organizing international relations to maintain peace and justice. We realize intellectually that peace and justice should obtain among nations, but we have not yet instituted permanent means adequate to make that conviction a reality.

A time when we are confronted by the effects and the appalling realities of a most terrible war is a peculiarly appropriate opportunity for the people to think out methods and agencies for the maintenance of peace. The terrible consequences of war which are forced upon us everywhere envelop peace plans with an unusual atmosphere of practicability and urgency. The appeal for peace is getting very close to the American people, the only great nation not directly involved in the war and consequently the nation that holds in its hands the power of mediation and use of its good offices. This opportunity constitutes a duty if we really believe in the fellowship of men and the sacredness of human life.

For years peace societies and organizations have presented arguments for peace, have adopted peace resolutions, and have declared for various international sentiments, but they have made little effort to give these visions reality in the organization of society and the relations among nations. But the war has shown that war can not be stopped by paper resolutions and that war can not put an end to itself. Wars will cease only when society is convinced that human life is really sacred and when society establishes agencies, international as well as national, for protecting lives.

We profess to believe that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but we do not see to it that these rights are secured to each individual. Industry is conducted upon the supposition that human life is cheap. Profits are held to be the ultimate end of business. Therefore business managers must get profits and in furthering the getting sacrifice the workers in the process. Employers cold-bloodedly calculate in money terms the relative expensiveness of machinery and workers; of the eight-hour day and the twelve-hour day; of child labor and adult labor; of compensation for loss of life and limb and preventive measures. In coal mines, steel works, and in transportation, human life is risked and sacrificed with cynical disregard. We profess to believe in democratic freedom, yet domination of power so ruthlessly prevails in industry.

Consider the statistics of industrial accidents, injuries, and deaths. In harmony with this waste of human life in industry is waste of human life in a crude effort to decide political issues on the battlefield.

When we realize the wonderful possibilities in permitting each individual to develop his abilities and do his work with a sound mind and body, then shall we appreciate the sanctity of living and we shall not dare to hamper development in any way. When this ideal becomes a part of our daily thinking and doing and working then fellow-beings will not be robbed of that which no one has the power to restore—life. The establishment of this ideal of the sacredness of life is a problem of education. It must be drilled into people, made a part of their very being, and must saturate every mental fibre.

It is not only that we are shocked at the waste of human life, but that we have not yet adjusted ourselves to this particular kind of waste—waste in war. We must realize the awful responsibility for the loss of human life opportunity with clearness and with understanding of the meaning of that waste that nothing will prevent our putting an end to all preventable waste. When conviction is sufficiently compelling, practical results will follow. Education and agitation are necessary to create that conviction. Those who wish to abolish war must lose no opportunity to implant the ethics of humanity, to make the sacredness of human life a part of the thought and action of the nations. The power to declare war must be put in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives.

In addition to establishing a sentiment and a conviction for peace there must be agencies established for the maintenance of peaceful relations among nations and for dealing with international issues. Militarism and competitive armament must be abolished and tribunals for awarding justice and agencies for enforcing determinations must be instituted. International interests and issues exist. Political institutions should be established, corresponding to political developments.

Those most interested should lead in the demands for world federation and the rule of reason between nations. The working people of all lands bear the brunt of war. They do the fighting, pay the war taxes, suffer most from the disorganization of industry and commerce which results from war.

In accord with the action of the Seattle Convention upon the resolution endorsing the Naval Holiday plan proposed by the First Lord of the Admiralty of Great Britain, that the nations cease from making additions to their navies for the period of one year, and that the plan be urged upon all the labor movements and governments of the civilized world, the President of the American Federation of Labor wrote to President Legien of the International Federation of Trade

Unions advising him of this action, and requesting that it be conveyed to the various affiliated national centers, for presentation to their respective governments.

President Legien replied that under the laws of Germany as a representative of a trade union he would not be allowed to forward such a document to the officers of the national trade union centers of the different countries. He stated that in Germany the difference between political and economic organizations was carefully distinguished, and that discussion of the A. F. of L. resolution would entail consequences limiting their activities. President Legien also stated that it would be inexpedient to circulate the manifesto through the medium of the International Federation. However, the international office was helpful in having the manifesto translated into several different languages and forwarded to A. F. of L. headquarters. The translations were sent out from the A. F. of L. headquarters with the exhortation that the National Centers take action similar to the declaration of the Seattle Convention.

Replies to the communication were received from France, Denmark, Great Britain, Austria, Sweden, Holland, South Africa, and Switzerland. The Federation of South Africa did not endorse the resolution.

The national labor movements can promote the cause of international peace by two complementary lines of action, by creating and stimulating with their own nations a public sentiment that will not tolerate waste of life, and by establishing international relations, understanding, and agencies that will constitute an insuperable barrier to policies of force and destruction. With humanization, education, cultivation, the establishment of the rule of reason, occasions for wars and wars themselves will cease. The working people, the masses of the world's population, can end wars if they but have the independence to think and to give their convictions reality by daring to do.

This convention should, aye, must, adopt some constructive suggestion and take some tangible action upon this world problem which so intimately affects the workers of all countries.

The committee on International Relations recommended the following declaration, which was unanimously adopted:

"Your committee is in full accord with the presentation of fundamental principles, the sentiment of which appeals to the higher instincts and ennobling human attributes of mankind and clearly represents labor's declaration that independence, liberty, and justice for all mankind are paramount under all circumstances. Your committee holds and desires to give expression to the following summaries as our interpretation of the statesmanlike expression of labor's attitude upon this important question: Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed, and commercialism. Back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice, and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances. In the second instance we emphasize the vast difference between the two kinds of wars and affirm that in the case of oppression, if the people have constitutional means of redress of wrongs and for obtaining liberty, justice, and a fuller democracy, such means should be exhausted before resort to arms is justifiable. Where there are no constitutional means of redress available for the people and their destinies are governed and controlled by despotic or hereditary rulers who subordinate the interest and welfare of the toiling masses to the further enrichment of those in control of agencies of power, if the people resort to arms as the last means to obtain the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, justice and freedom, we have no words of condemnation."

From Executive Council Report:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

While we realize that the information which comes to us as to the events transpiring in the war zone is very rigidly censored, yet it seems to be the consensus of opinion that the conflict will not be of short duration. In view

of the complete upheaval of all the activities of ordinary normal life in a social, industrial, and personal way attendant upon war, it is scarcely reasonable to suppose that even should hostilities cease, and peace be restored among the warring nations at any time within the next few months, that the activities of the organized labor movement as represented through the national centers of the various countries involved in the war will have been restored to such an extent, even without considering the terrible loss of life, as would permit a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1915. Later, two letters were received from President Legien. In a letter replying to President Legien's statement that the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions would have to be deferred, President Gompers expressed the hope, which we share, that when normal conditions shall have been established the next meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions whenever held will be held in the United States at some city and upon some date agreeable to the American Federation of Labor. He expressed great doubt as to the possibility of a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in San Francisco in 1915.

The Seattle Convention gave power and authority to the officers of the A. F. of L. to make arrangements for the 1915 meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in San Francisco. In the event that it develops later that the 1915 meeting will be held, unless otherwise directed by this convention arrangements will be made in conformity with the authority of the Seattle Convention.

This indorsement by the Committee on International Relations was adopted unanimously:

Your committee regrets extremely that the normal activities of our fellow trade unionists of war-stricken Europe have been diverted from peaceful, constructive efforts, education and the progressive development of the economic, social and political well-being of our fellow-workingmen and women in particular, and of people in general, to brutal destruction of human life and ruthless destruction of property. We recommend that the Executive Council hold itself in readiness to carry forward to completion the instructions of the Seattle Convention in reference to the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1915, or at any time thereafter that circumstances will permit of such meeting, and that this convention elect two delegates to represent the American Federation of Labor in such convention, when held in the United States. Man's inventive genius has annihilated distance which yesterday seemed insurmountable. Today it is but a matter of less than one week from the shores of the Old World to our own. In so far as industries and the employment of working men and women are concerned, there are no lines of demarkation. For this reason, we suggest for the attention of the national and international unions the advisability of and the necessity for international relations between national labor movements. In connection with this we remind all unionists what has been accomplished by the International Federation of Trade Unions. This organization is the federation of the national labor movements of the following twenty-one countries, according to its tenth annual report (1912):

Great Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary, Servia, Rumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, United States, New Zealand and British South Africa. The headquarters of the International Federation are at Berlin. Biennial conferences are held to which all affiliated national centers send representatives.

We wish to emphasize the significance of this organization and these relations

that in international as well as in local matters economic organization and relations precede and prepare the way for political relations and organization.

From Executive Council Report:

SITUATION IN MEXICO

As a matter of historical record, as well as to ask your approval of our course, we submit to you herewith a letter which President Gompers, by the authority of the Executive Council, addressed to the United States representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists:

Washington, D. C., July 25, 1914.

Mr. R. Zubaran, United Representative Mexican Constitutionalists, Burlington Apartment, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: From direct communication as well as from statements published in the newspapers within the past few days, the situation now existing in Mexico has been fairly and accurately presented to my associates, the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor, during our last week's session. We are prompted, and I was directed, to communicate to you and respectfully ask that you communicate in turn to General Carranza, chief of the Constitutionalists of Mexico, the following statement of fact and expression of hope.

But, first, let me say that it is with much satisfaction that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. extends felicitations to the Constitutionalist cause and expresses hopes for its early and successful consummation.

At the outset I should say that the working people of the United States are intensely interested in the affairs of the people of Mexico, as they are by their very position and organization vitally concerned in the affairs of the people the world over, and especially those conditions which affect the working people and their conditions of life and work.

Nor is it amiss to say that during the Mexican revolution again, the autocratic and tyrannical administration of President Diaz, the A. F. of L. aided as best it could, and particularly in the field of information and the creation of public opinion in the United States in the movement to depose Diaz. We were greatly gratified when, as a result, the great Madero was installed into office as President of the Republic and in the high purpose, to which he was devoting his talents and ideals for the benefit of the Mexican people.

When General Huerta and his coterie, by assassination and treachery, overturned the government of President Madero and General Huerta established himself as Provisional President and then dispersed the Mexican Congress and proclaimed himself dictator, there was no power, outside that of the government of the United States, which exerted so potential and international an influence in the solution of the difficulty which confronted the Mexican people as the A. F. of L.

We helped in sustaining the attitude of the Government of the United States in its refusal to recognize Huerta up to the present hour and for the success of the revolutionary movement headed by General Carranza.

Now the only difficulty which seems to be in the way of a complete settlement of the contest of the last several years is the avowed declaration on the part of those who speak or assume to speak in the name of General Carranza, that punishment and retribution of the most draconian character will be meted out by him and his government to the Huertists and those responsible for the overturning of the Madero government.

What I have in mind is, that since the A. F. of L., as no other American instrumentality outside the government of the United States, has aided for the success of the prospective government, we have the right to suggest to those who represent General Carranza and the victorious revolutionary army that the higher humanitarian consideration be given, aye, even to those who have been guilty. And that in our judgment such a policy would have a tranquilizing

effect, promoting the successful inauguration of the new constitutional government of Mexico and would tend to unite the people of Mexico in support of an orderly government of the country.

And it is also earnestly hoped and respectfully suggested that some definite declaration be made, not only upon the lines indicated above but should be coupled with an avowal of purpose that the Constitutionalists will carry into effect a rightful and justifiable division of the lands of Mexico for the working people.

We feel confident that such a declaration faithfully carried into effect would institute and maintain a better economic condition and a more humanitarian policy than have heretofore prevailed in Mexico.

In our judgment such a declaration and policy would do more than aught else to bring peace, unity, and progress to the people of Mexico and the stability of their government, all of which is submitted to the respectful consideration of yourself and your chief from the sincere purpose of your well-wishers and your friends.

Very truly yours,

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

The United States representative of the Constitutionalists expressed himself as profoundly grateful for this expression of opinion, suggestion, and judgment of the A. F. of L. as to the course which should be pursued by the Mexican Constitutionalists. And now that the Constitutionalists have driven the traitor and tyrant Huerta from the office he usurped and have established the constitutional government, and that the true aims in the purposes which prompted the Carranza-Villa constitutional revolution are to be carried out, we can take pride and satisfaction in the course pursued by the A. F. of L. and by the E. C. in giving aid and encouragement to the men of Mexico who are engaged in their avowed purpose for the democratization of the institutions of the Republic of Mexico to make for the greater safety and protection of life and liberty to her people, for the abolition of slavery and peonage, and for the better distribution of the fertile lands of that country. We extend to the people of Mexico under this new regime our felicitations and our best hopes for their welfare and progress.

The convention indorsed this recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions:

We have read the communication forwarded by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, signed by Samuel Gompers, President, to R. Zubaran, the United States representative of the Mexican Constitutionalists. We approve the action taken by the Executive Council as indicated by the text of the communication and we recommend that the policy which the communication advocates should remain the policy of the American Federation of Labor relative to the Mexican situation and that this receive the endorsement of this convention.

The convention adopted these resolutions:

Whereas, The horrors and the burdens of the war which is now raging between the nations of Europe fall most heavily upon the wage workers and their families; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American labor movement through the convention of the American Federation of Labor express its earnest desire for the early and equitable adjustment of the causes of the destructive conflict among the warring nations to the end that the sufferers may be relieved of the burdens placed upon them, and that human labor may be employed in constructive efforts for the advancement of human welfare.

Whereas, The world stands appalled by events in Europe which indicate a wanton disregard of advancing civilization and the temporary enthronement of savagery, a condition made possible only by the domination of militarism, accentuated by the continual presence of the outward evidences of the military power,

with its attendant drain on the wealth of the nations for the purpose of maintaining at a point of mechanical efficiency the tremendous engines of destruction designed for use in war, thereby affording a perpetual temptation to the rulers to put into use these weapons against mankind; and,

Whereas, The present exhibition of the potentiality of these modern armaments for the purposes of destruction is such as transcends any experience of humanity and outdoes the wildest dream of death deliberately brought about by human agency, with the attendant misery and suffering that have been thrust upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful, industrious and thrifty people who were entirely innocent of any thought of war; and,

Whereas, This most impressive example must teach us but one lesson, the beauty and desirability of a peace that preserves order with honor, that conserves life and property and insures the pursuit of happiness, and that is the noblest end of man's endeavors; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we pledge our support to any plan which has for its purpose the bringing about of the disarmament of all nations to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world.

Whereas, The whole civilized world is torn by the awful titanic struggle which is now devastating continental Europe, disturbing the commercial and industrial conditions of the whole world, submerging the nations of Europe in the shadows and horrors of war, touching sharply our sympathy and stirring the depths of our emotion; and

Whereas, All history has proved that trial by conflict does not result in permanent peace when it does not establish justice as its foundation of those agencies which seek to regulate the relations between men that justice may prevail; and

Whereas, Political experience shows that the welfare and the interests of all the people are promoted in proportion as they are represented in the government and the government is responsive and responsible to them, it is necessary that the workers have a will and an effective voice in determining international relations; and

Whereas, The workers of every age had special and imperative reasons for advocating and endeavoring to secure provisions insuring the maintenance of peace with justice, since upon them fall the burdens of actual warfare and the real fighting in the ranks, while the hardships and the suffering accompanying war following it are felt most keenly and most palpably by them and those dependent upon them, and the costs of war ever fall disproportionately upon their already inadequate resources; and

Whereas, The workers of all countries have been leaders in protesting against injury and violence to human life in peace as well as in war, and against the cruelty and the waste of needless war, and they have steadfastly endeavored to rouse the general public to realize the enormity of war, thereby rendering public opinion alert and sensitive to the responsibility of all men for the existence of war, and, moreover, the workers have been inspired to assist in constructive movement for the prevention of wars, whereby peace may be maintained with justice; and

Whereas, The organized wage workers of the civilized nations have established fraternal relations for the purpose of binding together the trade unions of all countries for the promotion of common interests and ideals, and by frequent and regular communication, co-operation and exchange of representatives have brought about an understanding and sympathy between the organization and their members in the various countries, relations which are necessary for the inception and the continuance of peace; and

Whereas, Out of the experience of these workers, out of their burden bearing and their wrongs, out of their hopes and their victories, have developed principles of justice and the conviction that the establishment of these principles as

practical forces in the lives of the workers, is conditioned upon establishing dependable representative agencies for the realization of purposes and agreements determined upon; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the organized labor movement in America, express and hereby convey to the organized labor movements of Europe fraternal greetings and our sympathy with their great suffering and distress, and that we express our most earnest hope for the early cessation of the terrible warfare now desolating the lands, destroying the families and impoverishing the nations of our fellow-workers; and be it further

Resolved, That we desire that fraternal relations between national labor movements shall continue with no more interruption than shall be absolutely unavoidable during the war, to the end that our regular intercourse and co-operation shall be resumed immediately at the close of the war; and be it further

Resolved, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in view of the general Peace Congress which will no doubt be held at the close of the war, for the purpose of adjusting claims and differences, hold itself in readiness and authorize the Executive Council to call a meeting of representatives of organized labor of the different nations to meet at the same time and place, to the end that suggestions may be made and such action taken as shall be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying foundations for a more lasting peace; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the International Federation of Trade Unions, to all national trade union centers throughout the world and to the President of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the official views of the organized labor movements enumerated be ascertained and their co-operation invited in order to carry into effect the purposes of the resolution.

International Relations in 1915

From report of Executive Council, San Francisco Convention, November, 1915:

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND WAR

When the Executive Council made its report to the Philadelphia Convention, the European war had been in progress for several months. The horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery, seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible.

But the months that have passed have revealed the tenacity of purpose involved in the war, the grim determination to fight the struggle to some definite decision, yet every day and every month of the war have demanded their toll of human blood and human life and the suffering of those left at home.

The purpose and the method of war are a direct reversal of the purpose and the ideals of peace. Human beings are merely the agencies for carrying on war—they are the centers about which activities for peace revolve and for whom all of civilization and all of progress exist. With the beginning of hostilities, civilized life has been completely revolutionized and the affairs of life have been put upon a war basis. Those things which do not help in the destruction of the enemy or for their own protection and defense are, for the time being, neglected by the warring nations. All of science, literature, music, and art that do not have some direct bearing upon the war or conduct of war seem to have disappeared completely from the thoughts of those who are intent upon destroying the armies of the enemy. Out of all this grim and deadly hostility there have grown an intensity of feeling, racial prejudice and bitterness that make all efforts at peace impractical and futile for the present. America has maintained a policy of isolation from entangling alliances and has kept free from the diplomatic jugglery that has involved so many European countries in wars. Our situation and physiography have aided this purpose. It has been our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation. Through such a policy we hope to be in a position to use our national power and influence to take advantage of any opportunity to secure peace and to establish conditions of equity and justice between nations.

However, the economic ties that bind together the nations of modern civilization are so strong, so numerous and so interwoven, that the life and the affairs of any one country necessarily affect all other countries, and it is impossible for any nation to maintain isolation. The countries of the world have intimate international relations. Finances have international centers. There are common storehouses and common factories in all the nations. These ties can not be severed wholly or partially without bringing well-nigh incredible suffering upon the peoples of the countries concerned. The outbreak of the war interfered with many of the industries and occupations of Europe. These peoples became increasingly dependent upon the stores and resources of the United States and other countries. As a result, our foreign commerce was completely changed in character. The products that we sent abroad had to be adjusted to meet new demands and new needs. This necessitated change and readjustment in the industries of the United States. We found that we were unable to obtain many things for which we had depended upon European countries.

This period of readjustment in the winter of 1914 meant to the wage-earners of the United States unemployment for many and all of the evil consequences of unemployment. But with the readjustment there came to many industries great opportunities for the sale of their products abroad, opportunities to produce the things that were necessary to supply the needs of the warring nations. As our country had maintained a policy of political neutrality, it was necessary also to maintain a policy of commercial neutrality and the products of our factories and our fields were open to purchase by the buyers of any nation. The fortunes of war made commercial intercourse with our country easier for some nations than for others. The nature, the extent and the direction of our commerce have almost completely changed during the months that the war has been in progress.

It was necessary for the protection of American citizens to continue our foreign commerce. There has developed in this country and in some other countries a conscience that is extremely sensitive to the effects of our foreign commerce. According to this concept, commerce that supplies nations with certain products becomes, in some degree at least, responsible for the war itself and for the loss of life. Those who have this conviction feel that an embargo should be put upon such products, and that all trade should be forbidden in these things which enable Europe to continue the struggle.

But these persons do not consider fully the disastrous effects upon the workers of our country as well as upon all of the citizens that would come from such a restriction and discrimination of trade which would result in closing so many industries and would quickly reduce thousands of men, women and children of our country to starvation. There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. Cotton, automobile trucks, horses, mules, are normal and necessary agencies for the cultivation of peace—they are also necessary agencies in carrying on war. Should we make any attempt to differentiate we would be involved in an interminable dispute over the possible purpose to which materials can be put. All nations are now turning to America as the great producer of food, clothing, and the necessities of existence.

Although it is recognized that these supplies from America do in a sense enable the foreign countries to carry on the war, yet it is also recognized that we have no right as a nation to interfere with the right of any other nation to determine in what manner it shall uphold its demands for justice. So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free they can not be forced or coerced by other nations, even in the matter of peace.

There are evils and horrors which result from war, but there are also evils and horrors that result from a despotism that denies people and nations freedom to work out their own best welfare according to their own highest ideals. We respect neither an individual nor a nation who forgets his or its rights merely for the sake of maintaining peace. Individuals or nations who consciously permit a right to be denied establish a precedent of injustice that affects all others. We do not condemn individuals or nations that have fought nobly for ideals and for rights. On the contrary, we glory in their courage and in their convictions and in the noble fight they have made. Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist. So now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for America's citizens as well as our desire to restore peace.

Peace can not be restored until the European nations are willing. There have been in the last year sentiments and movements for peace that have been

powerful to the ultimate realization of that purpose. Some of these movements have been genuine, others have been created by individuals and interests that were really unneutral. These movements have taken various forms; some have tried to influence the policies of the state and governmental authorities of our country; others have tried to work upon public opinion and still others have sought to use the good name of our labor movement to further the interests of some foreign country. But all of these efforts have thus far been futile. The citizens of our country, including all of the workingmen, are too genuinely patriotic, liberty-loving and humane to permit themselves to be used by any such agency. The efforts to use the workingmen of our country have been of two kinds: one to get through them the endorsement of the foreign policy to place an embargo upon so-called "munitions of war"; the other has been to stir up industrial contentions and disputes and thus interfere with the actual process of production so that products to be sent abroad may be stopped. Foreign agencies have been trying to reach corruptly some of the organizations of the workers but they have not succeeded. There is nothing touching the industrial and commercial life of America that is not of interest to the warring nations. They have sought all angles of control but everywhere they have found a spirit of faithfulness in America, a spirit of unity and solidarity among the workers that impelled them indignantly and decisively to reject such offers after their real nature was made clear.

Labor's Proposed Peace Congress

The Philadelphia Convention adopted a resolution favoring the holding of a labor conference at the same time and place that a general congress should be held at the close of the present European war in order to determine conditions and terms of peace. The resolution instructed the E. C. to hold itself in readiness to call to such a meeting representatives of the organized labor movements of the various nations. It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress.

This proposal was submitted to the various organized labor movements of other countries and they were asked to communicate their opinions in regard to the plan. So far we have had replies expressing approval from the French national movement, from the secretary of the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne, and from the South African Industrial Federation; from Germany came an opinion that such a plan was impracticable. Of course, it is impossible to know whether the communication containing the section of the E. C. report upon international war and peace and the resolution adopted by the Philadelphia Convention ever reached many of the labor headquarters. Attention is here called to the correspondence published in the current issue of the *American Federationist*, and upon which we amplify under the caption, "International Federation of Trade Unions." That correspondence must also be considered in connection with the subject now under consideration.

Previous peace congresses of this nature have been more concerned with political schemes and the aggrandizement of the individual nations, the maintenance of spheres of influences, than they have been with human welfare, democracy, and the rights of the people. The organized labor movement of the world represents the cause of humanity. There is no agency more capable or more fit to present and urge the claims of the people than the organized labor movements of the various countries. Ordinarily representatives in these great political congresses are not chosen by the people, or as representative of the interest of the people, but they are chosen from among statesmen, politicians, and those who represent great material interests. There is no assurance that the members of this next congress that must be held will be chosen in any different manner. Therefore, the holding of a Labor congress becomes necessary in order to infuse the spirit of humanity and democracy into this political conference.

The congress will afford a tremendous opportunity for many nations are in-

volved in the war, practically all of the eastern hemisphere. There may be presented an opportunity tending to democratize the countries and the institutions of Europe politically, and to determine the spirit and the kind of relations that are to prevail between the peoples thereof in the future. This is an opportunity for which America is peculiarly fitted. Our country stands as the land of freedom, the land of democracy. Our ideals have been an inspiration to the people of all lands and have induced many to make the struggle for freedom. Freedom is our ideal because we value human life, because we have the conception of the possibilities into which men and women may grow. The people of all countries have turned to our shores for inspiration and for hope. Millions have sought refuge here; others sought opportunity. This congress may enable our country to make our ideals the ideals of the whole world. To be sure, we have not been able to realize our ideals fully, but the great value of America has been that she has given the world a tremendous inspiration. It may be in this congress we can come nearer to making that ideal a reality in the lives of the people of the whole world. It is because of this great opportunity we have been especially desirous that America and her citizens shall avoid any relations that may in the future interfere with our effectiveness in acting as a disinterested mediator and conciliator.

The war is so tremendous, the struggle so intense, the chances so uncertain, that it is impossible to tell at what time peace may come and peace proceedings be inaugurated. For that reason it was felt that the E. C. ought to agree upon some tentative plan for the rapid assemblage of a labor conference. This is particularly necessary inasmuch as the organized labor movements of the fighting countries are necessarily somewhat demoralized through the war; their finances are depleted, and they have not the means nor the facilities to obtain immediate and authentic information in regard to the political movements of the various countries. For these reasons, it is necessary that some general agreed upon plan shall be made public in these various countries. Of course, there will be bitterness engendered from the experiences and the results of the war, but the workers everywhere will have to lay aside their personal prejudices and even emotions that are closely related with their ideals, in order to co-operate for the mutual welfare and common betterment of humanity. As members of a great world society all of the interests of our lives are very closely entwined, and we can not, even if we desire, maintain our interests isolated. Either we must be united for our common advancement and our common protection or we will be defenseless against the plans and manipulations of the agents and representatives of the great interests, for it may be depended upon that these interests will co-operate for their own aggrandizement; that they will not allow individual feelings to interfere with their ultimate purposes.

Purposes of Labor's Peace Congress

A conference such as we proposed must be approached by representatives of Labor of the world with full consciousness of common interest and all methods necessary to attain those interests. There must be so keen an appreciation of the great things and the important things that the ephemeral and the personal may not interfere with the co-operation necessary to establish greater ideals.

The nations engaged in the war have the right to determine their own policies, and the American labor movement does not propose any interference with this right of each nation. The war was caused by conditions and influences for which we are not responsible and the beginning of which it is not now our mission to discuss. Any effort on the part of our country to intervene now would be interpreted as partisan and hence a violation of neutrality. Only by holding aloof from all movements, however well intentioned, until the right time to influence our government to interfere, can the labor movement be in a position to be most helpful in the constructive work of preparing regulations for international adjustments. The matters with which we are mainly concerned and which it is our duty to help determine, are those things which have to do with reorganization at the close of the war and the establishment of agencies to

maintain international justice and, therefore, permanent peace between nations.

During the previous history of the world, international relations have been left as the field for professional diplomats and politicians. As a result, this field has not been organized and there are few permanent agencies for dealing justly, comprehensively, and humanely with international questions and rights. There exists, however, what may constitute a nucleus for developing permanent institutions. This nucleus consists of The Hague Tribunal and that indefinite mass of international customs known as international law.

Suggestions have been made to these embryonic institutions to further develop into a more comprehensive provision for influencing international relations.

However, there has been no effort to democratize these institutions and to make them directly responsible to the peoples of the various nations concerned.

The demand for democratic control and democratic organization of international agencies and international methods must come from the people, for it is hardly probable that diplomats and statesmen will voluntarily propose to share their power and authority with the masses of the people; and yet it is the masses of the people who suffer most grievously from wars and who must bear the brunt of war both during the time of fighting and in the period of readjustment that follows cessation of warfare.

Not only has there been little or no effort to democratize international relations, but very little consideration has been given to democratizing the foreign policies of countries. The latter problem must be worked out by each nation, but would follow naturally from the establishment of the rule of the people in international affairs. The matters that will be considered by any general Peace Congress called at the end of the present European war will be of vast importance in determining future policies and the direction of development for decades, aye, perhaps for all time.

At all previous congresses of this type the matters considered have been purely political and have been determined from the viewpoint of professional diplomacy which is concerned with statescraft rather than with the larger problems of national statesmanship and the general welfare of the masses of the people. Since the welfare of the wage-earners of all nations is largely affected by international regulations, in all justice it should be given primary consideration in the deliberations of a World Peace Congress.

Just as the wage-workers of each country have by insistent demands forced their political agents to consider matters affecting their welfare, and have forced national recognition of the principle that the well-being of the people that constitute the nation is a matter of fundamental importance to the nation, so the wage-workers of the various nations must insist that there shall be established as an international principle that the welfare of human beings is of the greatest importance in international relations and intercourse. In whatever provisions are made for international political agencies, the labor movements must present the demands of the people that these agents must be responsible to them.

No doubt propositions concerned with international industrial and commercial undertakings will be considered by the Peace Congress. It will devolve upon the representatives of the wage-earners to present and to demand recognition for the human element concerned in such agreements. It has been altogether too common for such problems to be considered from the purely commercial and private profit standpoint. Consideration of the human side will result only from the self-interest and the altruism of the wage-earners themselves. Any effective effort along this line will necessitate a more thorough international organization of the labor movement of the various countries. Experience has demonstrated that the success of the labor movement of each country has been directly proportionate to its success in economic organization, so success in maintaining the interests of the wage-earners and international relations will depend upon the kind and nature of our international organization.

It is impossible to plan in advance for all questions that may come up for consideration. The delegates must use discretion and judgment guided by the fundamental principle that human welfare must have the greatest consideration.

Suggested Plan for the Congress

There are various difficulties that arise in making a plan to convene the proposed conference. Not all the organized labor movements of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not all countries have national centers or federated labor movements, consequently any regulation for representation in such a congress must have considerable flexibility.

This perhaps would be a workable plan:

Let every national center affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions send not more than two delegates to the conference.

The labor movement of any country, even though not affiliated, could send one delegate.

If there is no one general labor movement in a country, let the representatives of the organizations of that country agree to send one delegate. It happens that many of the European countries consist of several nations, which have their separate national labor organizations.

The wage-earners of many countries have not yet effected national organizations. It would be extremely difficult to get in touch with the responsible officials of these labor movements as quickly as might be necessary in order for them to send representatives to the proposed labor conference. It is necessary then to make provisions for the representation of such countries in some other than purely formal methods.

It is suggested that, in addition to the formal invitations sent to labor centers, that publicity be given to these invitations through the press, and that the notice of the time and place of holding the conference shall constitute in itself an invitation to participate in that conference through authorized representatives. In the meantime until then if there be time the E. C. of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and empowered to extend formal invitations and issue the call in the name of the A. F. of L., and at the earliest possible moment after action has been taken by this convention.

In view of the fact that peace when it comes will probably come very quickly and there will be comparatively little time for making provisions for the labor conference and for circulating information in regard to that conference, it might be well to prepare in advance a circular to be sent to national centers, national labor movements and to be circulated by the labor press of the world generally in order that a more complete representation may be obtained. Then it should also be understood that representatives to this congress must be either officials or duly accredited representatives of economic organizations of wage-earners. No representations of political organizations, of philanthropic associations, or any other sort of an organization except a bona fide labor organization, shall be admitted as members of the conference.

The delegates to this international conference before leaving their home countries should make provisions for publicity through the labor press of their countries for the deliberations and the decisions of the labor conference so that the wage-earners of the whole world would be in possession of the truth in regard to what transpires.

In order that the position of the workers of the United States in regard to international peace and war may be fully representative and carry with it the weight of the unanimous voice of Labor of the country, we recommend that all International Trade Unions be urged to give their endorsement and pledge their co-operation to the program and plan outlined by this convention for the holding of a World's Labor Conference.

Report of the Committee on International Relations, which was adopted by unanimous vote:

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption of International Peace and War, we are in full accord and take pleasure in so

reporting. We have taken note of and fully indorse the statement that the "horrors, the destruction and the waste of war were all so new that they were like a terrible weight on the spirits of all. The waste of human life, the brutality and the butchery seemed so horrible as to be well-nigh impossible"; and again with the further statement: "It is then our most earnest desire since the beginning of this European war to maintain our country free from any dispute that would involve us with any of the warring nations, and so enable us to maintain an impartial attitude that would deserve the respect and the trust of each and every nation"; and further and more particularly with the following statement: "There is no middle ground, for it is impossible to distinguish between munitions of war and the ordinary articles of commerce. . . . So long as nations are free and independent, so long as they shall maintain national self-respect, they must have the right to determine as they seem best the things which affect them directly and intimately. As Americans we believe fully in freedom. If nations are to remain free, they cannot be forced or coerced by other nations even in the matter of peace"; and finally: "Had our forefathers preferred peace to justice, we would not now have the ideals and the institutions of freedom that exist; so now in our attitude toward European nations and the European war we must have in mind justice for American citizens as well as our desire to restore peace."

We are fully in accord and agree with the sentiments expressed. We hold America has the right to carry forward its normal or extraordinary activities, industrial, political or otherwise, so long as we do not violate any rule of humanity or fundamental rule of strict neutrality. We stand for justice and right rather than for peace at any price, we want peace, we shall work for peace, and hope finally to attain it. We agree with and commend the sayings, acts and attitude of President Gompers which in their wise application have done much to safeguard and protect the honor and best interests of the American labor movement and all America. Fearlessly, freely and boldly expressed, his guidance has received the warmest endorsement of our nation and has been a potential factor in the national policy that has kept us out of the spineless class, yet free from entanglement in the cataclysm now devastating Europe.

Labor's Peace Conference

We are in full accord with the plan suggested in the Executive Council as outlined in its report, and fully concur in the suggested arrangements for holding such conference. While we reaffirm the action taken by the Philadelphia convention, we hold the Executive Council should again be instructed to make all arrangements for holding the anticipated conference, and further that the Executive Council be and is hereby authorized to select the President of the American Federation of Labor and one other to represent the A. F. of L. in such conference.

The A. F. of L., the American trade union center, because of its strict neutrality, isolation and distance from the seat of trouble, its freedom from race bitterness, hatred and passion, is eminently qualified to lead in the effort which portends so much and is so important for the future wellbeing of the trade union movement, human life, liberty, justice and a broader democracy for all mankind.

From Executive Council Report:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

As a result of war conditions, the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been virtually suspended. The international conflict disrupted the interests and occupations of peaceful civilization and has instituted a war regime. All life and industry have been forced to readjust to war conditions.

The ideals and the purposes of peace have been replaced by institutions and organizations to serve the purposes and furtherance of war. As the war has cut asunder many of the ties that bound nation to nation, so it has rendered impossible the fraternal relations existing between the national labor movements of the belligerent countries. Since the headquarters of the National Federation of Trade Unions is in Berlin, the capital of a country virtually surrounded by armed forces, it has been difficult for this international organization to continue its work or to keep in touch through correspondence with the trade union centers of other countries.

In November, of 1914, President Legien of the International Federation announced that under the conditions the regular work of the organization would be discontinued and the funds be used only for the purpose of maintaining the organization, and not for the purpose of propaganda. This was necessary in order to preserve the neutrality of the labor organizations. He also announced that the President of the Dutch Trade Union Center, Mr. J. Oudegeest, would be the intermediary through whom he would communicate with the various national trade union centers. It was also decided that the Congress of the international federation which the Zurich Congress decided should be held at San Francisco, 1915, would be indefinitely postponed. But the progress of the war intensified feeling and made communication increasingly difficult. The rigid censorship in many countries renders it practically impossible to secure adequate and comprehensive information in order to keep in touch with labor conditions in the various countries and to discuss any common interest.

In February a conference of some labor representatives of France and England was held in London. Both the British Federation of Trade Unions and the Confederation du Travail of France disavowed any responsibility for the holding of this conference, or any of the views expressed therein. The French trade union movement had been invited to participate in that meeting, but not the British as an organization. The delegates from the French organization were instructed to confer during their stay in London with the British Federation in regard to plans for the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As a result of long and serious conferences, W. A. Appleton and L. Jouhaux jointly wrote to President Gompers. In their letter they asserted that, while there was no personal animosity toward the people of Germany, yet all present in the conference agreed that the national and racial bitterness engendered by the war would nullify the usefulness of the international trade union movement if headquarters were continued within a belligerent country. They stated that it was obvious that many years must elapse before the British, Belgian and the French workers could proceed to Berlin with the same freedom and confidence that existed prior to the outbreak of war. They felt that some change was necessary in order to prevent the disintegration of the international trade union movement, and they suggested that the international office should be moved, at least for the time, to some country whose neutrality was guaranteed by treaty and physiography. America was considered ideal in all respects except that it was too widely separated by distance. Switzerland was the only other country that seemed to have all desirable characteristics, and Berne was designated as the most satisfactory location.

Inasmuch as Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux appreciated fully the gravity of the situation and the desirability of avoiding dismemberment of the international trade union movement, they requested President Gompers to present this matter to Mr. Legien. They most earnestly and emphatically asserted that their request was not due to any personal feeling against President Legien, but because of their deep anxiety to maintain the solidarity of the international trade union movement. In accord with this request, President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien and laid the matter fully before him.

The course which President Gompers pursued was endorsed by us in our

official capacity as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. We proposed also that a plan be adopted which, in case of future wars, would automatically remove the headquarters of the international federation from a belligerent country to a neutral one.

As before referred to, the war has made regular correspondence extremely difficult. Mr. Legien wrote in connection with this matter, but his original letter was lost. His first impression was that the proposition was a matter that ought not to be decided by vote through correspondence, but only after a thorough and personal conference in which the whole question could be discussed. He felt that to change headquarters of the International Secretariat at that time, under the existing conditions, would be an expression of lack of confidence that would, in the future, have a harmful effect upon the whole movement. He expressed uncertainty as to whether or not the request of the French and British representatives was in the form of a regular motion that was to be submitted to the members of the international federation, or whether the affiliated organizations that did not participate in the London conference should have a separate conference.

However, in the interim, before his letter was received, the representatives of the British and French movements issued a circular to the affiliated organizations presenting this proposition for neutralization of the offices and officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In the official journal of the British General Federation of Trade Unions, the correspondence which that office had between Messrs. Appleton, Jouhaux, Legien, Oudegeest and Gompers was published. Later, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland, upon request of Mr. Legien, issued a circular publishing a fuller version of the correspondence.

In the November, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*, President Gompers published the entire correspondence between him as the representative of the A. F. of L., and the officers of the trade union movements in other countries; and between the officers of various countries. This correspondence is published under the title, "Labor's International Relations—As a Result of the European War. Labor's Book of All Colors." That correspondence should be considered in connection with our report.

Mr. Legien's proposal to hold a conference in Amsterdam did not meet with general approval. Mr. Appleton in writing to Mr. Oudegeest upon the subject stated that Mr. Legien did not appreciate the bitterness that the war had engendered in Great Britain and France, and that it would be useless to ask the people to agree to a conference.

We have endeavored as best we could to maintain friendly relations with the labor movements of all countries and to avoid any action that would in the slightest degree interfere with our usefulness and our influence in promoting the best interest of the organized labor movement the world over. We have been able to hold ourselves in readiness to be helpful at such a time when an opportunity for constructive work shall be presented and in order that our influence may be unimpaired and may be powerful for the cause of human rights and democracy. We have been very careful to avoid anything that might be construed as unneutral or in any way hostile to the interests of any group of workers.

In December, 1914, Mr. Oudegeest of Holland wrote a circular letter to the various trade union national centers presenting the terrible conditions that existed in Belgium and the want and dire necessity that had befallen the Belgian people. They had no work and no way to maintain themselves. The peril of starvation was imminent. Mr. Oudegeest asked in behalf of these Belgian workers contributions from the trade union movement of the other nations. A personal representative of the Belgian people brought President Gompers information which substantiated the statements already received.

This appeal for help for the Belgian workers the E. C. of the A. F. of L. directed to be published in the *American Federationist* with the direction to send

all contributions to Mr. Oudegeest who was entrusted with their distribution.

As already stated the regular congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions was to have been held at San Francisco concurrent with this convention. That was to have been the first meeting this organization ever held outside of Europe. For that reason it was expected that this meeting would have a far-reaching influence and consequence in extending the spirit and relationship of fraternalism, and in strengthening and increasing the tie of unionism that binds together the working people of all countries. However, 1915 finds such conditions existing in the civilized world as have made impossible the holding of this labor congress from which so much was expected that would be of infinite value in promoting human welfare and in establishing agencies whereby the workers could secure for themselves ever increasing benefits and opportunities.

In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L.

The following report of the Committee on International Relations was adopted unanimously:

We have read and carefully considered the report under the foregoing caption, together with the correspondence entitled "Labor's Book of All Colors," published in the November, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist*, and fully concur in every action taken by President Gompers and the action of the Executive Council as a whole. The report and correspondence present forcefully the human side of the world's trade union movement, and emphasize the necessity of a more comprehensive and more effective system which will safeguard and protect the movement regardless of any and all circumstances which may develop. The preservation of the national, international unions, the national trade union centers, and finally the International Federation of Trade Unions, is our highest concern. One way to do this is to formulate a method and organization whereby prompt action may be taken. Under this caption and at this time your committee prepared the following declaration:

Because the maintenance of the trade union movement of our country, or all civilized countries, and of the International Federation of Trade Unions is of paramount importance in so far as the economic condition of the workers is concerned, at all times and under all conditions, the stability of our movement here or elsewhere should not be subject to the disturbing influences and possible destruction by any cataclysm, be it a fire, flood, war, or pestilence. In times of great stress there is more and greater need of workable machinery and unhampered officers to safeguard and protect our movement and the rights and best interests of the members thereof. Under the present laws of the Trade Union Centers and the International Federation of Trade Unions, there is no law flexible enough to meet an emergency which might be caused by any of the foregoing catastrophes.

We recommend, first, that the next delegate to the Congress of the Federated Trade Unions be and is hereby instructed to offer a motion creating an honorary President who shall perform under circumstances stated hereinafter all of the functions and necessary duties of the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to wit:

If the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions is prevented from exercising and performing the normal functions of his office, by reason of a disastrous fire, flood, war, or pestilence, the functions and duties of the office shall temporarily revert to the honorary President, and as soon as the cause or causes which rendered it impossible for the President to perform the normal duties of the office no longer exist, the functions of the office

of President of the International Federation of Trade Unions shall automatically revert to the regularly elected President.

And, second, that the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed, if in the judgment of the Executive Council it may be deemed necessary, to take this matter up by correspondence and endeavor to have the principal involved in this resolution adopted.

We wish to call particular attention to the recommendation of the Executive Council and recommend that the convention specifically endorse that suggestion which is as follows:

"In discussing the subject of the next congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, President Gompers has urged upon the officers of the labor movement of other countries that the spirit of the Zurich declaration should be observed and that when the official congress shall be held after the close of the war, it should be held in the United States, and at some time approximately near the time of the holding of the convention of the A. F. of L."

From Executive Council report:

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

Since the opening of the Panama Canal, there has been a growing realization that there ought to exist closer political, industrial and commercial relations between the peoples of the western hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened up new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for a closer political alliance. This has been augmented by the fact that the present European war has closed old trade routes and destroyed many of the markets to which the Pan-American Republics formerly carried the greater amount of their export merchandise.

During the past year the Congress of the United States authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to call a Pan-American Congress Conference for the purpose of considering better financial, industrial and commercial relations and the development of the natural resources of the countries of the western hemisphere. Accordingly the conference of representatives from the South American countries, Central America and Mexico, met with the representatives of the United States in Washington, May 24-29, 1915. These delegates represented all the great financial, industrial, and commercial interests of the Latin-American countries—the steamship companies, the mines, the banks, railroads, telephones, and all the great corporations. This conference was to deal with matters and policies that were to be of a far-reaching consequence, not only in international relations between various countries, but in the internal development of the countries.

All these industrial enterprises depend upon human agencies which ought to be most carefully protected and conserved. Those who participated in this conference are to decide policies and to outline plans that will affect the lives of millions of people for years to come.

It is conceded that the chiefs of industry, finance and commerce, have their own interests foremost in mind—in fact, some who are recognized as world powers have recently stated that they know nothing of industrial relations with employes and that they considered labor conditions irrelevant to their concern.

If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. We ought to improve our conception by providing representation. There is but one organization that stands for human welfare and human rights and nothing else. It is an organization that has concern not only for its membership, but for all those who do the work of the nation—a strong, militant organization that fights the battles of the weak and clears the path for progress that all the toilers may join the forward movement toward freedom and larger opportunity and welfare. This is the organization that ought to be represented in all of the councils of the nation—it expresses the burdens, the heartaches, the yearnings and the ideals of the masses of the nation.

Although these matters were of such tremendous significance, not only for the interests concerned, but ultimately an alliance of the peoples of these various nations, including our own, there was not a representative who stood either directly or indirectly for the cause of the toilers—for the cause of human rights, human liberty and ideals of democracy and greater freedom. Although it is recognized that material civilization, wealth, and all problems are to serve ultimately the needs of the people, yet the representatives of this Congress were of a type that would consider the development and the management of these interests purely from the standpoint of profits, with little or no regard for the human beings concerned, either as producers or consumers—as men, women or children. The tremendous matters that were to be considered by this Congress were not generally understood, nor the far-reaching consequences of its decision, yet these representatives of financial interests, of commerce and of industry, apparently were representatives of their national governments and were authorized to make provisions for the future.

It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interests of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protection and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged.

It was because he felt that it was necessary for the wage-earners to be represented in the first meetings where policies were to be formulated and standards were to be set, that President Gompers entered a protest with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo against the policy that excluded from representation in this conference representatives of human rights and of the masses of the people.

The inauguration of these Pan-American conferences makes it evident that the employing interests of all the countries feel an identity and that there is foreshadowed closer association, if not organization, of the employers of both the North and South American countries. If the employers of all these countries are to unite for the promotion of their common interests, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment. With the Pan-American organization of employers it is clearly evident that organization on a national scale will not be adequate for the protection of the workers in international relations where it is probable that policies will be decided which will be the determining factors in all national policies. Therefore, we deem it wise to urge at this present time the inauguration of a special effort and policy to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents. There have been made conditions that have hitherto hindered intercourse and close relationship, but now that the countries are to be bound closely together by industrial, commercial and financial ties, the workers must plan for the future. Of course conditions of life and standards of living, educational opportunities, language—all differ vitally as between the various American countries, but despite all of these differences, there is that time of common economic, political and social interest that will make for closer relationship and unity of action. From time to time, we have had correspondence with the organized labor movements of some of the countries of South America and Mexico, but this has been intermittent and without permanent association for mutual advancement.

But the time has come when it is necessary to plan for our mutual protection.

We recommend, therefore, that the Executive Council be authorized to consider this matter during the coming year, and to enter into correspondence with representatives of organized labor movements of these various countries for the purpose of promoting a better understanding and closer relationship, to the end that all the workers of the various countries may be prepared to act concertedly for their mutual advancement and protection. We recommend also that some plan be devised for the exchange of fraternal representatives and delegates in some capacity, probably to visit the South American countries and Mexico, in order to carry personal greetings, and to bring back first-hand reports of conditions existing there. Of course, a representative for work of this character must have some knowledge of the Spanish language.

During the past year, a beginning has been made that ought to have an effect in promoting closer relationship and better understanding. The country just to the south of us has been passing through a period of terrible turmoil and distress. After many years of nominal freedom, yet actual despotic control, when the policies of the whole government were in the interests of employers and the exploiters, there came a rebellion for the purpose of securing greater freedom for the people, and the establishment of democratic policies and practices. Under the Madero government considerable progress was made, yet the effect of the past year's work plainly shows the lack of self-control and the failure to understand the workings of a government by the people and for the people. Madero was an idealist who had in mind the interests and welfare of the people. He gave them many rights that had been previously denied them. Among these was the right of free assembly and the right of free speech. The working people were given the right to organize into labor unions. Then there developed first of all the labor movement of Mexico. But the Madero government was not of long duration. Madero was succeeded by a despot who ruled without regard to constitutional rights. The people of Mexico who were struggling for liberty united in what was known as the "Constitutionalist" party, with Carranza as their leader. After a period of fighting they drove Huerta from power, and then there began a struggle between various leaders of the army for control and power. Gradually it became evident that Carranza represented the majority of the people of Mexico and that he stood for the purpose of constitutional rights, the principles of justice and equity to all citizens of the country. Many of his policies revealed a rare humanitarian spirit that is fully appreciative of the value of human lives, whether of humble position or of more influential. Carranza entered into a contract with the organized workers of Mexico known as the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial," which represented the trades and callings of Mexico's workers. This body is a federated body of unions, and its name has been translated by one of its adherents as "The Federation of Industrial Workers." The agreements which Carranza made with the people were circulated in the form of manifestos and posted on streets and dwellings of the Mexican cities. Their purpose was clearly that of the immediate advancement of the working people, their full right to organize, in order that they might be given opportunities to exercise normal activities for their protection. The Carranza government gave the labor organizations not only the right to hold meetings, but furnished them with buildings for that purpose.

He inaugurated the policy of either taking over land that had been secured by illegal or sharp practices, or buying up large estates and dividing these out into small farms for the people. This was a practical method of meeting one of the chief difficulties in Mexico, a difficulty arising out of the large estates in the hands of comparatively few people. The labor movement in Mexico has sprung up since the time of Madero. The federated movement consists of unions of stone masons, wood cutters, printers, carpenters, shoemakers, musicians, and the usual skilled artisans. Of course, the federated movement of Mexico found itself hampered by lack of funds, for not only are the workers

of Mexico poorly paid in times of peace, but they had been under even worse conditions during the protracted civil war.

It had been the intention of the "La Casa del Obrero Mundial" to send two representatives to the American Federation of Labor, but lack of funds prevented the execution of this plan. However, the officers of that movement have communicated with the headquarters of the A. F. of L., from time to time, both through letters, telegrams and finally through a personal representative. This personal representative stated that the Mexican working people had chosen General Carranza as their leader in the struggle for freedom and that they were willing to support their choice with their lives. They felt that Mexico was working out her own problems in accord with her ideals and was in a position to establish the democratic government which they desired. The labor movement of Mexico protested vigorously against any action on the part of the United States which should interfere with the right of that nation to settle its own internal difficulties. The workers of Mexico felt that the people and the officials of the United States had been misinformed by those who had their own personal interests to serve through deception and misinformation. Any action on the part of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico would be interpreted by them as in conflict with the ideals of free government, and in the interests of great corporations that had money invested in their country. They felt that they were entitled to the sympathy of the Americans who stood for an ideal of freedom and they urged that the Carranza army is made up of free men willing to sacrifice their lives for freedom and that the American nation bear with them yet a little while longer for they thought they saw in sight the goal for which they yearned.

The rank and file of the Carranza army is made up of the workingmen of Mexico, industrial lodges and trades unions. Many of these labor organizations have joined the army as a body and serve in the regiments with the officers of their unions acting as the officers of the regiment. A representative of the wage-earners of Mexico was sent to this country with a request from them to President Gompers that he do everything within his power to see to it that the effort of the Mexicans to secure greater freedom was given a fair opportunity. President Gompers has written several times to President Wilson in regard to this matter. He urged upon the President the plea of the Mexicans for time to accomplish whatever they desired and for the patience and indulgence of the United States in their efforts. This matter was considered by us at our September meeting and we decided to authorize President Gompers to write to the President urging upon him the recognition of the Mexican government with General Carranza as its head, upon the ground that that government was the representation of democratic ideals in Mexico.

Report of the Committee on Resolutions, adopted by unanimous vote:

Your committee recommends that this convention endorse the action taken by the Executive Council in connection with the subject referred to in this portion of the report.

From report of Porto Rican Federation of Labor to the Executive Council, adopted by the Convention.

MEXICAN SITUATION

General Carranza and his party, as appeared in the manifestos that we have received and read, has promised many good things for the workingmen for their protection, for their elevation and progress, but I fear that when the revolution is ended, if the workingmen have not enough organization and power to protect and defend their position, and to see that these promises are made good, the labor people of Mexico will find themselves in the same position that they were in before the revolution.

General Carranza and his party offered to the labor organizations, represented by the General Federation of Labor, the following permanent grants:

"The liberty of the wage working class to organize and to strike is recognized by our constitution which declares that nobody may be prevented from associating peacefully for any legal purpose. If it is legal for capital to associate I do not find any reason why it should be illegal for labor to organize."

"The constitutionalist government will distribute the national lands and will recover for distribution those tracts of which private individuals and communities have been illegally dispossessed, as well as acquire by purchase and other legal means more land should it be necessary for the solution of the problem. It will also place the agriculturist in a position to acquire farming instruments and to withstand the loss of crops by means of a system of agricultural credits."

"To better the condition of the working class a maximum time of labor and a minimum wage will be fixed by law. Special measures will be enacted to regulate the labor of women and children. Labor organizations that comply with the law will be recognized by the government. An accident indemnity law will be enacted to protect workmen and due care will be taken for the hygienic life of the workmen in the factories, shops and in general in all the centers of industry."

"The complete abolishment of labor as a means of paying debts is one of the conquests already realized by the revolution—a conquest that has won us our most numerous and stubborn enemies."

"Reforms of a social and economic character rather than those of political character. A change in the personnel of the government or the realization of political reforms is of small importance."

"I am in favor of universal suffrage without any more restrictions than those absolutely necessary to make effective the vote of every citizen."

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR CONVENTION

In view of the close relations that are being cultivated by the big financial interests of the country through the governmental authorities of Washington among the various governments and financial corporations of the Spanish speaking republics, it seems both wise and necessary that the A. F. of L. should invite the labor federations of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile, and of the other southern as well as central American republics to meet together in a great Pan-American Labor Convention, which should be held in Washington for the purpose of considering the economic problems that are to confront in the near future the various labor people owing to the fraternization and combination of the biggest capitalist representations of Wall Street and those of the said republics, which are ready to be mutually helpful to themselves, and to control as much as possible the business of those countries. That is to say, shipping companies, railroads, mines, banks, telegraphs, telephones, and the general combination of industrial, commercial and financial interests.

The masses of the people of those republics know very little about these great schemes and the working classes of these countries can not see now what the results will be. It seems to me that as bankers, financiers and manufacturers of the United States and the government officials of the various countries and merchants called and held a conference of all financial and political interest, the A. F. of L. should call a conference of the representatives of all the Pan-American Labor Federations in order to meet the new conditions in a comprehensive manner and in behalf of the common ideals of liberty, justice, and the development of the spirit of the true American and true to the service of mankind.

International Relations in 1916

From the Executive Council's report to the Baltimore convention, November, 1916, which was unanimously adopted:

WORLD LABOR CONGRESS

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we suggested a practical plan for the holding of a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war. The plan was suggested in accord with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention, which had adopted the suggestion that such a labor congress ought to be held, and directed that a practical plan be suggested to the next convention.

The plan which we recommended to the San Francisco Convention was adopted by that convention and we were instructed to make all arrangements for holding the proposed conference. The convention authorized us to send as representatives of the American Federation of Labor to that Congress the president and one other representative of our Federation.

In order to carry out the instructions of the convention, we had prepared a statement setting forth the purposes of the World Labor Congress and the tentative plan for the congress which had been endorsed by the San Francisco Convention. This statement was to be in the form of a circular letter addressed to the organized labor movements of all countries. It was printed in English and translated into French, German, and Spanish, and sent, in these various languages, to the organized labor movements of all countries for which we had secured the names and addresses of officers. Despite the strict censorship maintained in all belligerent countries, we have reason to believe that this letter was generally allowed to pass the censors. During the course of the year many letters of inquiry and approval were received from various countries, and in our own country the proposed congress aroused general interest and met with enthusiastic approval. The influence which a representative group of workers of the world could wield in such a congress was appreciated by all those who had an understanding of the definite progress that the world has been making toward democracy and toward an understanding of human rights and human freedom. Somehow thinking people have been catching the meaning of democracy; they have come to realize that it means that the people—all of the people—have a right to do things for themselves; that they need no longer to look up to others to do things for them, not even the things that pertain to government and international relations. Every worker, because he is a human being, has a right to a place in the world; a right to a voice in determining his life and the conditions under which he shall live, and a right to an opportunity to have his ideas and welfare considered before national issues are determined. It was the old thought that workers knew nothing about problems and issues; that they were to work for others and do nothing else; that the big things in life, that the fundamental principles determining affairs, should be decided by others—those of another class. As the workers have gained in economic power they have been able to justify their position, that they, the great masses of the people of America, had a right to determine all of their own affairs, and that the affairs governing organization of society were just as much theirs as they were the politicians or the statesmen or the employing or property holding classes. Tradition has given power of determination to these classes; their purposes and policies were primarily influenced by their personal interests and the desire to maintain control for their own classes because that insured the present organization of society. The guiding concept of the wage-earners is the paramount importance of the human being. Accord-

ing to this understanding of life everything else—land, property, influence—must be subordinated to human welfare and made to serve the people. This concept will never be made the controlling concept of society except through the will and action of the workers themselves.

It was this understanding and this purpose that lay back of the proposal made by the A. F. of L. to hold a World Labor Congress, by setting standards, presenting ideals and bringing these matters before the World Peace Congress and the people of all of the nations in such a way that they could not be ignored. In this way the wage-earners would have a part in giving a high tone to the World Peace Congress and in setting standards below which they would not dare to fall.

We regret to report that the proposal of the A. F. of L. to hold an International Labor Conference at the time and place when the representatives of the governments of the various countries shall meet for the purpose of determining conditions of peace and entering into a treaty was not approved by the organized labor movement of Great Britain. This action, together with the statement of President Legien of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany that such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, necessarily requires that our proposition be abandoned.

When information of this official rejection of the plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention reached this country, because of the tremendous importance of the plan and of the infinite and boundless influence that a representation of wage-earners could have upon the deliberations of the World Peace Congress, the following suggestion was considered by us and adopted:

Since the first proposal submitted by the A. F. of L. to the labor organizations of Europe has been definitely rejected by them, we suggest that the organized labor movements of those countries that shall participate in the general peace conference to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of the war, shall urge upon their respective governments that the wage-earners shall be represented in an official commission from their respective countries. The same policy ought to be pursued also by organized labor movements of neutral countries if it shall be determined that neutral countries also will participate in the general peace congress.

Thus representatives of wage-earners would be seated with other representatives of the nations in general conferences connected with the formulation of peace terms. In this way the ideals and needs of wage-earners would be presented and considered by the general official body.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

The necessity for promoting closer relations between the workers of all Pan-American countries was presented in our 1915 report. The events of the past year, particularly the relations between our country and Mexico, have shown even more clearly the necessity of permanent international organization for the workers of both countries.

The San Francisco Convention endorsed the policy of furthering a Pan-American Labor Union. The proposition began to take definite form in the United States-Mexico conference at Washington and was incorporated in the declaration signed by the members of the conference. The government of Yucatan, which is a labor government, had authorized and directed its representatives in that conference to visit all Pan-American countries in furtherance of a Pan-American labor organization. As these representatives were leaving Washington, President Gompers gave them the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 6, 1916.

To the Workers of All American Countries:

A purpose has long been in the minds of many which has gradually been taking form and seeking an opportunity for concrete expression.

Such an opportunity has been born out of the strained relations that have recently existed between the United States and Mexico and the great anxiety aroused thereby in hearts and minds of the workers of both countries. There has come at least one result that is potential for the maintenance of human rights and the establishment of principles of human welfare in international relations.

Just as the situation between the United States and Mexico was most critical, there came to our country two representatives of the government of Yucatan, Mr. Carlos Loveira, Chief of the Department of Labor, and Mr. Baltazar Pages, Editor of the Voice of the Revolution, bringing an appeal to the workmen of our country to use their influence in the interest of peace and justice between our countries. At the same time, in response to an invitation from the A. F. of L., the organized labor movement of Mexico sent as representatives to Washington for the purpose of holding a conference, Mr. Luis N. Morones, Mr. S. Gonzalo Garcia, and Mr. Edmundo E. Martinez.

During the recent past, through personal representatives of the Mexican government and information gained from others in close contact with conditions in Mexico, it became plain to us that the revolution in Mexico represented a genuine effort on the part of the Mexicans to establish institutions of freedom and justice. The A. F. of L. made an appeal to the President of the United States to recognize the Constitutionalist government of Mexico.

It has since on several occasions when important decisions of national policies affecting the United States and Mexico were in balance been the instrumentality through which the desires of the masses of the people have been expressed, and further time and opportunity afforded to Mexico for understanding our national attitude and demonstrating good will and good faith on her part.

Because of this historic relation it was felt that a conference between representatives of the labor movement of Mexico and representatives of the A. F. of L. would be a direct means by which the masses of the people of both countries could wield an influence that would counteract the influence of financial powers and those who were willing to precipitate international conflicts for their own aggrandizement.

At this conference held in Washington between the representatives of the Mexican labor movement and the E. C. of the A. F. of L. a declaration was signed by all parties to the conference. This declaration in addition to provisions which concerned immediate relations between our two countries, provided for future conferences between representatives of both countries and declared in favor of efforts to establish a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

This was not a new thought for the A. F. of L. Upon several occasions the same idea had been advanced, and in the Proceedings of the 1915 Convention of the A. F. of L. endorsement was given to a proposal for an organization that would represent human rights and interest in all Pan-American countries. The necessity for such a labor federation has been made increasingly greater through efforts to establish closer commercial and political relations between the countries included in the Pan-American Union.

In the High Commission, which recently made a trip to Pan-American countries for the purpose of promoting better commercial and industrial relations, although there was no phase in any of the relations between these different countries that did not in some way affect human interests and human welfare, there was no one on that commission who distinctively represented human interests and the rights and welfare of the masses of the people.

I have urged upon the United States government that this serious

omission ought to be rectified, and I urge the labor movements of all Pan-American countries to bring the same matter to the attention of their respective governments. But such representation, valuable as it would be, is not sufficient to protect and promote the rights and welfare of the workers of all countries. A Pan-American Federation of Labor is not only possible but is necessary. It will constitute a ready and fit agency for injecting into international deliberations at opportune and critical times consideration for human rights, interests, and welfare.

In view of the importance of this purpose, it is most gratifying to find that the representatives from the state of Yucatan are to travel through the countries of Central and South America for the purpose of promoting a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The purpose of their mission has our most sympathetic and hearty co-operation. The realization of an international alliance between the labor movements of all Pan-American countries will constitute a genuine parliament of men, one of the highest purposes to which mankind has aspired.

It is earnestly hoped that the representatives of all organized workers in Pan-America will come into and continue correspondence with the undersigned.

With sincere greetings, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor.

It will be observed that as a result of our conferences with the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico, it was agreed that conferences should be held not only with the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico, but of the several other South American countries. We therefore recommend that the E. C. be authorized to arrange for and be represented in such conferences as may be proposed and held. We submit that it is fair to assume that the E. C. of the A. F. of L. is not likely to enter into any arrangements or agreements unless they are conducive to the welfare of American workers as well as to the toilers of all other countries.

In connection with the proposal to establish a Pan-American Federation of Labor, it is important to bear in mind the fundamental principle that the labor movements of all countries must be supreme over the organization and the labor problems of their respective countries. In other words, a national labor organization must be autonomous within the jurisdiction of that country. In our communication to the workers of the South American countries, it is plainly stated that the A. F. of L. will yield to no other organization authority over the affairs of the economic movement in this country. We stand for the right of the workers of every country to work out their own problems in accord with their ideals and highest conceptions.

The right that we claim for the workers of the United States we are willing to concede to the workers of every other country; but over and above national issues, there are matters of of international character and which are of general concern to the workers of all of the countries of the two American continents.

MEXICO

In our report to the San Francisco Convention we gave an account of the friendly relations that had been established between the labor movement of Mexico and that of the United States and showed how that relationship had been helpful in preventing intervention by the United States in the affairs of Mexico. We reported that on September 22 we had asked President Wilson to recognize the Constitutionalist government. On October 19, 1915, official action was taken by which the Constitutionalist government was recognized.

During the following months President Gompers kept in touch with the

representatives of the labor movement of Mexico through correspondence and through conferences.

In the spring, when conditions had arisen that seemed to make war between Mexico and the United States inevitable, the understanding between the labor movements of the United States and Mexico took on more definite form and was again instrumental in throwing light upon the influences and the agents that were trying to create war sentiment and the seeming necessity for intervention in the affairs of Mexico, and was able to help bring about an adjustment of misunderstandings without resorting to war.

When war seemed most imminent, on May 23, 1916, President Gompers sent an invitation to the labor organizations of Mexico asking them to send representatives to participate in a joint conference with representatives of the labor movement of the United States so that they might consider the conditions that seemed likely to bring about war and carry back to the masses of the people of both countries whom they represented information that would convey to them the real sentiment of the people of both nations and enable them to know the elements and conditions attempting to drive both countries into war.

It was first planned to hold this conference in an American city on the border between the two countries, but the labor movement of Mexico acted instantly and sent representatives to the border line without first informing our headquarters of their action and our agreement upon the definite time for the conference. It was, for lack of time, impossible to assemble a representative group to confer with the representatives of the Mexican workers at Eagle Pass. It was arranged that Mexican workers should send representatives to Washington to hold a joint conference with the E. C. of the A. F. of L. which was to hold its regular meeting in Washington, June 26.

The representatives of the Mexican workers who met with the E. C. were L. N. Morones, S. Gonzalo Garcia, representing the Casa del Obrero Mundial; Edmundo E. Martinez, representing the Federation de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana; C. Loveira and Baltazar Pages, representing the organized labor movement of Yucatan.

During this conference, which was in part quite informal, the representatives of the Mexican labor movement discussed very freely industrial and political conditions in Mexico and the growth and progress of their various organizations. Considering the fact that the organized labor movement of Mexico dates only from the time of Madero, progress in development there has been most extraordinary. The local unions are affiliated to the two national organizations which were represented in the conference.

While this conference was being held, relations between the United States and Mexico became acute. Our government had issued an ultimatum demanding the immediate release of American soldiers. As no response had been received from General Carranza, First Chief of the Mexican government, responsible governmental officials had become extremely anxious. It was at this time that a request was made to President Gompers that he make a personal appeal to General Carranza to release the United States soldiers. Mr. Gompers sent General Carranza the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1916.

General VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interest of a better understanding between the peoples and the governments of the United States and Mexico, for the purpose of giving the opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

That same evening "extra" papers announced General Carranza had issued an order releasing the American soldiers.

On the next day the following telegram from General Carranza was received:

MEXICO, June 29, 1916.

SAMUEL GOMPERS:,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

In replying to your message dated yesterday, I would state that the government in my charge has ordered the liberty of the American soldiers whom the Mexican forces took as prisoners at Carrizal. Salute very affectionately,
V. CARRANZA.

On authority of the E. C., President Gompers sent the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1916.

General VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

Your telegram of June 29 received and laid before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session at Washington, and we express to you our appreciation of your order releasing the American soldiers and thus helping to clear the way for a mutually honorable settlement of any differences existing between the governments of the United States and of Mexico.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Although the danger of immediate war had passed, there yet remained many conditions that were likely to keep relations between the two countries in an unsettled state and might at any time again bring about danger of war or precipitate war. Those who participated in the conference of the workers of the United States and Mexico fully appreciated that unless definite, constructive suggestions were made and adopted, the existing friendly and advantageous relations would not be assured permanence.

This conference of workmen was helpful in bringing about a better understanding in the United States of the real meaning and purpose of the Mexican revolution and an appreciation of what the people of Mexico were trying to accomplish in overthrowing old institutions. This understanding made more general the feeling that the people of Mexico knew what they wanted, understood their peculiar problems and had a right to work out their own salvation in accord with their ideals. The conference in itself was an illustration of how easily war may be averted when an element of reasonableness is introduced into a critical situation and the people of both countries insist upon knowing what are the true causes behind the demand for war.

As a result of this conference held in Washington the following declaration was signed by those participating in the conference:

Mexican-United States Compact

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1916.

The undersigned, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico express our deep gratification in the consummation of this conference which we hope and believe has laid the basis for better understanding and has welded ties that shall bind together the workers of our respective countries.

We are confident that personal conferences of the workers of the United States and of Mexico will be a constructive force in bringing about understanding necessary for better relations between our countries and for maintaining peace founded upon a proper regard for the rights of all. It is our opinion that this conference should be followed by another in which the workers of both countries shall be more generally represented for the purpose of agreeing upon plans for maintaining permanent relations and for the federation of the labor movements of all of the countries of the two Americas.

In view of present relations between the United States and Mexico we are of the opinion that such a general conference is for the present untimely and we express the judgment that the holding of such a conference should be deferred until later in the year. However, in the event of an emergency which would make a general conference of advantage in averting an international crisis, such a conference could and should be called for the earliest time mutually agreeable. To carry this plan into effect a joint commission shall be chosen to consist of two members from both labor movements, to remain in Washington until the present crisis is passed, the said joint commission to have the power of calling a general conference if necessary.

We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between our countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping to determine international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent.

We direct that the President of the A. F. of L. and the official representatives of organized labor of Mexico should keep in touch through correspondence and that they be authorized to carry out the purposes specified in this declaration.

In joint conference, as the representatives of the workers, the masses of our respective countries, we urge upon our governments to adjust existing differences without war and to establish conditions conducive to permanent peace with justice.

We appeal to the workers and all of the people of the United States and of Mexico to do everything within their power to promote correct understanding of purposes and actions, to prevent friction, to encourage good will, and to promote an intelligent national opinion that ultimately shall direct relations between our countries and shall be a potent humanitarian force in promoting world progress.

It is an unavoidable conclusion that present differences between our countries are the result of misunderstanding growing out of inadequate or incorrect information; that the unfortunate consequences of past relations between the United States and Mexico have formulated a national attitude that questions the good faith of our governments; that existing agencies and methods of reaching an adjustment of these differences are unsuitable for dealing with those problems which are fundamentally human problems; and that the relations between our countries ought not to be directed in accord with abstract standards of justice but ought to be keenly sensitive and responsive to the human

interests and moral forces. Therefore, we, the representatives of the organized workers, having the right to speak for all of the workers and in the interests of all of the people, urge upon our governments the appointment of a commission to be composed of high-minded citizens, fully representative of our nations, to consider differences that have brought our nations to the verge of war and to make such recommendations for adjustment as shall fitly express the highest ideals of the great rank and file of the citizenship of our two countries.

We direct that copies of this declaration shall be presented to the President of the United States, Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and to the First Chief of the Constitutionalist government of Mexico, General Venustiano Carranza, and that it be given widest publicity among the workers of our respective countries.

For the organized workers of the United States:

SAM'L GOMPERS, *President*
 JAMES DUNCAN, *First Vice-President*
 JAS. O'CONNELL, *Second Vice-President*
 D. A. HAYES, *Third Vice-President*
 JOS. F. VALENTINE, *Fourth Vice-President*
 JOHN R. ALPINE, *Fifth Vice-President*
 H. B. PERHAM, *Sixth Vice-President*
 FRANK DUFFY, *Seventh Vice-President*
 WM. GREEN, *Eighth Vice-President*
 JOHN B. LENNON, *Treasurer*
 FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary*

For the organized workers of Mexico:

C. LOVEIRA
 BALTAZAR PAGES
 L. N. MORONES
 S. GONZALO GARCIA
 EDMUNDO E. MARTINEZ

As is evident from this declaration the constructive suggestion of the conference was the appointment of a joint commission to consider the differences between the two countries that had so nearly embroiled two nations in war and to suggest recommendations for adjustment. This plan met with favor in both countries and was later adopted.

When it became apparent that the critical situation had passed, it was no longer necessary that the two representatives of the labor movement of Mexico should remain in Washington. They, therefore, returned home, with the understanding that the representatives would be returned should the necessity arise.

The workers of Mexico affiliated to the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republic Mexicana felt that they could be benefited by sending representatives to Washington to confer with President Gompers about labor conditions in Mexico and secure advice upon practical matters of organization. Three representatives of this organization, Messrs. Carvallo, Alonzo and Ramos, came to Washington and had conferences with President Gompers. He gave these representatives the following letter to be conveyed to the workers of Mexico:

Labor's Message to Mexico's Toilers

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 18, 1916.

To the Members of Confederacion de Sindicatos, Obreros de la Republica Mexicana.

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS: It was a great satisfaction to have additional proof of the desire of the Mexican wage-earners to establish

cordial, fraternal relations and to prevent misunderstandings between the labor movements of Mexico and the United States. The spirit that prompted your organization to send delegates with additional information of organized labor in Mexico and your declarations of good will are an earnest of what can be accomplished by international organization.

As Col. Martinez has doubtless informed you, on July 1 and 3 a joint conference was held between the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and representatives of the Mexican labor movement. The conference was in pursuance of an invitation extended by the A. F. of L. which was given such general publicity in Mexico as was possible in the limited time and restricted agencies available to us.

The diplomatic situation became so critical that labor representatives from Mexico City came to the United States before a definite time had been mutually determined. Under the circumstances that existed it was not possible for the A. F. of L. to call together a representative labor group to meet with the Mexican delegates in Eagle Pass, Texas. Therefore it was suggested that the Mexican delegates come to Washington where the E. C. had arranged for a ten days' session closing with the dedication of the new A. F. of L. office building. This was agreed upon. A delegation consisting of Mr. Luis N. Morones and Mr. Salvadore G. Garcia, of Mexico City, came to the conference. It was most opportune that your representative Col. Edmundo E. Martinez came on his mission to bring to the A. F. of L. the beautiful gold medal from the workers of Mexico and that he was authorized to represent your organization in the conference.

Two representatives of Yucatan, Messrs. Carlos Loveira and Baltazar Pages, had come to the United States commissioned to bring an appeal to the workers of our country to help avert war and to establish ways by which information could be conveyed to the workers of both countries that would protect them against the mistakes due to misunderstanding. As Messrs. Loveira and Pages also participated in the conference its representative character is apparent.

The conference was devoted chiefly to discussion necessary for mutual information and to consideration of means to avert the immediate danger of war in which baneful elements and greedy exploiters were seeking to plunge our countries. A declaration was signed by the representatives participating in the conference. A copy of the declaration is enclosed.

As you will note it was provided that two representatives of organized labor of Mexico should remain in Washington in order to act quickly and effectively upon any emergency that might arise. But when the critical period had passed and no new danger seemed probable the Mexican representatives decided that it would not be necessary for them to remain longer.

Messrs. Loveira and Pages had been commissioned by their state government to visit all Latin-American countries to urge a Pan-American Congress of workers for the purpose of establishing a Pan-American Federation. This was an idea that had been given serious consideration in our country and had been approved by the A. F. of L. in its annual convention held in San Francisco in November, 1915. In order that the workers of all American countries should know that the A. F. of L. gives hearty approval to the proposed Congress and Pan-American F. of L., I gave each of the Mexican representatives a letter stating the position of the workers of the U. S. A copy is enclosed. I hope you will assist in giving general publicity to this letter, and will urge consideration of the plan contained therein.

But in working for this far-reaching purpose we must not forget that which is immediate—the holding of a general labor conference to consider matters that immediately concern the wage-earners of Mexico and the U. S.

Let me suggest that through correspondence, the press and all agencies of publicity, you give the workers of Mexico information as to what already has been accomplished by the power of economic organization and direct attention to common interests and problems of the workers—interests and problems which extend past national boundary lines and intermingle wherever the industrial and commercial interests of our countries extend.

The hope of the workers of all countries lies in their economic organization which is an organic force limitless in its possibilities. This fact makes very gratifying the information you send of the strength and the number of labor unions affiliated to your Federation. We in our country are dependent upon the organized workers of Mexico for information in regard to your movement. We want to know more about you, and to keep in close touch through correspondence.

I have been asked to make the suggestion as my experience may warrant as to the organization, development and direction of the Mexican labor movement. Of course, it is not possible, at this time, to enter into the subject minutely, but I may be privileged to state that:

1. The wage-earners engaged in any particular trade should be organized in a union of that trade.

2. That the unions of the trade should be organized in every city and town wherever that trade has a sufficient number of workers to form a union thereof.

3. That as soon as there is a sufficient number of unions of a trade in the various localities so as to permit of the safe financial conduct of a national trade union of these various local trade unions, then such a national union should be formed, and it should have absolute authority to determine its own laws, methods and policies for the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the workers of the trade.

4. This should apply to each and all trades and occupations of wage workers whether skilled or unskilled.

5. In each city there should be formed a central labor union composed of delegates from each trade union. The Central Labor Union of each city should concern itself with the affairs of the workers generally affecting them, and not interfere with the internal trade affairs of any of the organizations, these being reserved to the unions themselves.

6. The central labor unions should not allow representation of any group of persons other than the delegates from the bona fide trade unions.

7. Central labor unions should meet not less than twice each month.

8. In each state of Mexico there should be a State Federation of Labor which should meet annually and be composed of delegates from local trade unions and local central bodies within the state. None but bona fide delegates from bona fide trade unions and central bodies should be admitted as delegates. The State Federation of Labor should concern itself with state legislation affecting the interests of the workers; both the State Federations and City Central Bodies should aid in the organization of workers in existing unions, or institute new unions, and when such local trade unions are organized, they should be placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the national union of the trade.

9. There should exist a Mexican Federation of Labor somewhat after the plan of the A. F. of L. The Mexican Federation of Labor should guarantee to every National Union affiliated to it the right to determine its own laws and policies. The Mexican Federation of Labor should exercise no power except that which is conceded to it by the National Trade Unions. The Mexican Federation of Labor should be voluntary in every respect declaratory of general policies and purposes, and it should aid any National Union to the fullest extent in the effort to protect and promote the interests of its members or of the trade. The Mexican Federation of Labor should concern itself largely with organizing, with securing legislation or administrative acts from the Mexican congress and government. The Mexican Federation of Labor should hold annual conventions at which the National Trade Unions would be represented by delegates from National Unions in proportion to the numerical strength of each and one delegate from the Mexican State Federations and the Mexican City Central Labor Unions.

The Mexican Federation of Labor should issue charters or certificates of affiliation to National Unions, to State Federations and to City Central Labor Unions. I am sending you a blank charter as sample, which the A. F. of L. issues. The Mexican Federation of Labor should also organize and issue charters to local trade unions of which there is an insufficient number to form a National Union.

Enclosed with this I am sending you a copy of the constitution and laws of the A. F. of L. I am also sending you a copy of the official printed proceedings of the last A. F. of L. convention. I am also sending you a copy of the New York State Federation of Labor constitution, and also copy of the laws of one of the City Central Labor Unions of the A. F. of L.

Please communicate our desire to all officers of labor organizations and request all to send us written and printed information. We shall be glad to receive regularly copies of your labor papers and to send you our publications.

Again permit me to express my gratification at the opportunity to meet the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Messrs. Carvallo, Ramos and Alonzo, and learn from them of your splendid progress. Sometime I have the hope of meeting more of Mexico's workers—her people face to face.

With fraternal greetings and best wishes, I am,

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

During the conference held in Washington in June, the representatives of this organization presented to the A. F. of L. a gold medal on which was the following inscription:

To the American Federation of Labor
As a loving token from the Mexican Workingmen to the
Workers of America.

Later they presented a beautiful diploma, again expressing the spirit and feeling of fraternity and good will.

It was the understanding at these conferences that later conferences should take place between the representatives of the workers of Mexico, and that the relations that had been established between our two countries should be broadened and made to comprehend the workers of all the countries of America.

Better and closer relations and understanding between the workers of the United States and Mexico are necessary for the protection of the workers of both countries. The boundary line between the two countries does not constitute a real barrier to industrial and commercial development and organization.

There is an identity of interest between the property holders and employers of both countries. The fifteen millions of Mexicans among whom low standards of living and work, low wages and long hours have prevailed have constituted a real barrier toward progress and betterment among the workers in this country. This is true not only along the border line but its influence is felt even among the central states. There are now thousands of Mexican workers in the cities along the border lines and in the mining regions of the west and in some of the eastern states. In Los Angeles alone there is a Mexican population of about fifteen thousand. There are mining communities in Arizona and Colorado which are composed almost wholly of Mexicans. Mexican workers have been imposed upon and brought into this country even as far as Chicago to be used as strike-breakers to defeat efforts of the United States workers in reducing hours of work and securing higher wages. This problem must be met by the development of the organized labor movement in Mexico and by the organization of the Mexicans within our own country. We can aid and support the Mexican workers in working out their own problems, and we ought to begin a definite campaign for the organization of Mexicans in this country.

In connection with this section of the report we wish to call attention to the editorial in the July issue of the *American Federationist* entitled "Liberty's Hope Is in Thy Keeping, Organized Labor," and to the article in the August issue entitled "United States-Mexico Labor, Their Relations." These articles describe briefly the development of the labor movement in Mexico which is identified with the cause of the revolution and the attempt to establish a constitutional government.

As clearly and keenly we have been kept in touch with the progress of the labor movement of Mexico (for be it always remembered that in Mexico the revolutionary movement was really a labor movement), yet we were agreeably surprised to learn of the wonderful progress and achievements of the workers of Mexico in shortening hours of labor, increasing their wages and standards, and improving their conditions of work, and this particularly since the overthrow of Huerta and the establishment of the Constitutionalist government. This has been general; yet in the state of Yucatan, Mexico, some of the broadest and best constructive labor conditions and labor legislation have been adopted within the past year and a half.

In all of our relations with the workers of Mexico it has been our purpose to impress upon them that economic organization is that which is of paramount importance to wage-earners, for only through the organization and control of their economic power can they hope to secure their protection and their freedom. We have also tried to call attention to the fact that the development of the labor movement in Mexico must be directed in accord with the peculiar needs of the Mexican workers and must be worked out to meet the problems and conditions that exist within their country.

By establishing closer relations with the labor organizations of that country we can bring about the better protection of the workers of the United States and the advantages of the workers of both countries.

Supplemental report of the Executive Council:

REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS.

Since our report was prepared and in printed form an important communication has been received that ought to be considered by this convention in

connection with that subject. The following is a letter from Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions in Germany:

International Federation of Trade Unions,
BERLIN, October 4, 1916.

To the American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Comrades:

Incidents which appear apt to break up the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions render it expedient to summon an International Trade Union Conference during the time of war.

The conference is to take place at Berne (Switzerland) on December 11, 1916. The agenda will comprise decision regarding:

1. The continuation of the International Federation of Trade Unions.
2. The publication of the International News Letter.
3. Miscellaneous proposals.

According to the rules (resolutions of the conferences of Budapest, 1911, and Zurich, 1913), each national center is not allowed to send more than two delegates to the international conference.

The necessity of the conference is apparent from the following:

On July 5th of the current year a trade union conference sat at Leeds, England, at which the Confederation Generale du Travail and the General Federation of Trade Unions were officially represented by their secretaries. Besides, there were present representatives from Belgium and two representatives of a trade union organization in Italy not affiliated to the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, but recognized by the conference as representing the trade unions of Italy.

The international trade union organization known as the International Federation of Trade Unions continues to exist even if, at present, it can only execute the tasks entrusted to it in a limited way. As long as the war ravages the European countries, exterminates the masses and internationally separates labor, it is the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to safeguard the unity without, so that it may resume more easily its former manner of activity and be developed to a greater degree.

The Amsterdam branch office makes it possible for all national sections which—owing to the war—could not communicate with the central office of the International Federation of Trade Unions to maintain the connection without getting into conflict with the interests of their own country. Each national center ought to have refrained, therefore, from holding special conferences. Neither the national centers of the neutral countries nor those of the Central Powers has ever attempted or even suggested anything of the kind. Their exchange of correspondence with the International Federation of Trade Unions was exactly the same as that conducted with the Entente Powers via Amsterdam, although the desire for discussion existed here just as much as there.

Not only did such discussions take place at the Leeds conference, but resolutions were passed the carrying out of which would be identical to the establishing of a new international organization for the four countries named. A correspondence bureau is to be erected in Paris, which is to be headed by a council of delegates of the affiliated countries. The secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail was, besides, commissioned with preparing a new conference of trade unions of the allied countries.

Thus the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been violated. The affiliated national organizations must be given the opportunity of deciding in regard to the continuation of

the International Federation of Trade Unions and its further activity. This can only be done at a conference at which all national centers affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions can be represented. For that reason Berne has, after consulting the Swiss trade unions, been decided on as the place of meeting and the date put off until the middle of December.

The difficulties in the way of sending delegates to and holding an international trade union conference are obvious. The matter, however, cannot be settled in any other way, if the trade union is not to be paralyzed completely for years to come. Once before, in June, 1915, the majority of the national centers decided by letter that no change was to take place regarding the International Federation of Trade Unions until the conclusion of the war. It will not be possible now to consult the opinion of the national organization by letter, because after the sitting of the Leeds conference the question at issue is not the removal of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions, but the continuation of the trade union international and the form it is going to take in the future. Under these circumstances the difficulties in the way of an international conference must be overcome and the unpleasantness connected with the representation question endured. We trust, therefore, that all national centers desirous of preventing the international separation of the trade unions will send representatives to the conference. With fraternal greetings,

(Signed) C. LEGIEN

President Gompers wrote to Mr. Legien acknowledging receipt of his communication and stating that it would be submitted to this convention. On November 11 the following cablegram later was received:

"KJOEBENHAVN (Copenhagen).

"Mr. Samuel Gompers,

"American Federation of Labor,

"Washington, D. D.

"International Trade Union Conference at Berne, Switzerland, 11th of December, cancelled until other information is given. Letter follows.

"LEGIEN."

We ought to call the attention of the delegates to the action of the American Federation of Labor approving the proposal submitted by the Federation Generale du Travail of France to move the international office to Switzerland. The American Federation of Labor then submitted that in the event of war between groups of countries the labor movements of which are affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions the headquarters should be automatically neutralized and the affairs of the international labor movement protected against the charge or the appearance of partisanship.

The American labor movement has refused to consider or to suggest any other international proposition concerned with the labor matters during the war. The proposition considered by the Philadelphia and San Francisco conventions was to give the workers an opportunity to find a means for presenting the immense human interests affected by international relations at the time when, after the war, steps were being taken for reconstruction and for giving direction, tone and purpose to future development.

We have been appalled by the human suffering, the physical and mental agony and the loss and waste of human life in the European war and we earnestly desire to prevent the recurrence of such a horror. That purpose cannot be achieved unless constructive measures are devised to accomplish it.

The domain of international relations is yet in chaotic condition. There exists a vague mass of customs known as international law and the beginnings of international morality. However, there has been little or no effort to organize this domain for peace and for constructive work. Public opinion has

been educated far in advance of the development of agencies through which it must operate.

The important thing is to take steps in the right direction, when peace brings opportunity. This thought has been uppermost in the minds of humanitarian men, many of whom have banded together and formulated definite programs.

In order that the wage-workers of America may be ready to participate in the field of international affairs, it is necessary for us to consider various tentative suggestions and to determine upon a definite program promoting labor's interests.

The various proposals for the organization of international relations disclose that the field and its problems are analogous to those of relations between individuals—a domain that is now systematically regulated by the governments of the various states. Some of the same principles will apply to the larger domain between nations.

We submit that there ought to be a voluntary union of nations, a league for peace to adjust disputes and difficulties, and to take the initiative in constructive efforts to direct and facilitate world progress in accord with highest concepts.

Among the suggestions usually made for maintaining peace is arbitration. Arbitration has been so generally discussed that it is not necessary at this time for us to consider its purposes and functions. However, it has been generally conceded that arbitration has an exceedingly important field of service within definite limitations. Arbitration can be effective only in the adjustment of differences, and thus is limited to justiciable matters. We suggest, therefore, that it is not suited to adjust difficulties that are most likely to threaten peace between countries, and it cannot deal constructively with elements and conditions in their making, which, when further developed, would inevitably result in friction, misunderstanding, or the use of force.

There is nothing novel or untried in the first proposition. Arbitration treaties exist between practically all civilized countries. Between some, as the United States and Canada, permanent courts have been established to adjudicate differences. To apply this principle to world relations would necessitate a permanent agency to which would be submitted all justiciable differences arising between signatory nations and not susceptible of other adjustment. Would not a permanent world judicial tribunal, composed of jurists and those familiar with international law, with jurisdiction over judicial questions concerning members of the league, be a fitting agency to perform this work?

In international, judicial, and justiciable matters there are a large number of problems susceptible to mediation and administrative action. For these we suggest a second agency adapted to deal with matters of an entirely different nature, such as economic issues and the affairs concerned in the daily life and work of the citizens of the nations. Such a commission should be composed of men in close touch with industrial and commercial forces in action, not those who from a viewpoint remote from the political and industrial struggle look down upon the activity of the people and the creative forces hewing out the destiny of the nations. The real interests, needs, and ideals of the people would be best represented by selecting for this commission journalists, publicists, scientists, professional men, men of affairs, wage-earners—those in close touch with the heart of the nations, through their work, whether as organizers of the processes of production and commerce or as the human agents necessary for the utilization of material resources.

Fundamentally, would not the creation of this commission for hearing, considering, and recommending as to the infinite variety of interests arising between nations make for the organization of the field forces of diplomacy? By democratizing the commission and appointing to it those representatives of the rank and file of nations and their varied interests, the light of publicity would be turned upon secret diplomacy and its agents would be rendered more responsive to the will of the people.

Old style diplomacy here failed. The traditional diplomat regarded his service as an art detached from the crude struggle for an existence and was unmindful or ignorant of the human interests involved in machinations of diplomacy. Diplomacy must be made more open, more honest, more effective if our civilization is not to be brought into question and jeopardy.

We suggest consideration of means to make the purpose of the League for Peace effective. Would not those nations that band themselves together in a league for peace need to agree upon means for securing compliance with regulations and for the use of force against a signatory nation which might go to war or engage in hostilities against another member of the league without having submitted its grievances in the proper way provided by the agreement? Joint use of both economic and military forces of signatory nations could be directed against the offending nation.

In order to render international law more tangible and better adapted to the problems with which it must deal would it not be well to provide for conferences of nations to meet at definite times to formulate and codify international law?

The suggestions which we submit are to be considered as a general foundation for organization for peace between nations, and would help to avert unnecessary wars. We do not declare that it would abolish war—but by mediating the causes of war, war becomes less probable.

We submit for consideration whether each separate nation ought not to maintain its separate agencies for compulsion, with the assurance to each of sovereignty and necessary authority to determine matters of a distinctively national character? Collective action by a league of nations ought not to dictate the limitation or the regulation of military and naval equipment, but it can properly prevent the use of such force for national aggrandizement and for exploitation of the small countries. We deplore militarism, but the fight against militarism must ultimately be made by the citizens of the different nations. Establishing methods and agencies which render display of military and naval power no longer effective is the practical and direct way to abolish rivalry between nations in standing armies and naval equipment.

The way to prevent war is to organize for peace. The working people of all countries are vitally interested in the maintenance of world peace. We feel that in addition to expressing our desire we ought to consider constructive suggestions.

We are keenly conscious that institutions and regulations alone are not sufficient. These are only the agencies. Back of them must be an international mind and conscience and humanization of our common affairs. The labor movements of all countries have contributed much to the will for peace and justice, and must do their part in the development of the agencies by which their will can be expressed.

We suggest that the Executive Council be authorized to continue its efforts in behalf of an international labor conference after the war, with instructions to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference. No one can foretell what eventuality may occur in the war; perhaps it may end before our 1917 convention. Therefore, the Executive Council ought to be in a position to take action to carry out labor's purpose and to protect its interests.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
D. A. HAYES,
JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
JOHN R. ALPINE,
H. B. PERHAM,
FRANK DUFFY,
WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN B. LENNON,

Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

The Committee on International Relations submitted the following recommendation, which was unanimously adopted:

The European war is daily growing in extent and horrors, and the nations unfortunately involved in it are at present powerless to check the fury of mutual destruction and wholesale bloodshed. Many nations in Europe are held in political subjugation by the direct powers, are deprived of the right of self-government, hampered in their free, national, and cultural development, oppressed, maltreated, and persecuted, and the existence of such oppressed nationalities and their natural and legitimate struggles to liberate themselves constitute a fruitful source of international strife and war.

Some of the warring nations of Europe still withhold from the Jewish and other oppressed peoples the political, national, and civil rights enjoyed by other citizens or subjects of those countries, although the Jews are making untold sacrifices in goods and blood for the countries of their birth or adoption.

We declare that the international movement of organized labor, having justice for its aim, must give its best efforts to the abolition of all forms of oppression and discrimination, national, racial, as well as political and industrial.

We urge that the organized workers of the United States render moral and material assistance to the full extent of their means to their suffering fellow-workers, the victims of the war and of political, religious, racial, and industrial injustice.

That the American Federation of Labor pledges itself and all whom it can persuade to act in co-operation with us to render every service in order that justice and freedom for labor and for humanity be secured and maintained for the peoples of all countries the world over.

This report of the Committee on International Relations was unanimously approved by the convention:

Your committee desires to reiterate that you may reaffirm the expressions and declarations of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the questions of war and its causes as follows:

Back of all wars of conquest is the spirit of brutality, greed and commercialism and back of all revolutionary wars for redress of wrongs is the spirit of independence, liberty, justice and democracy. We declare against the former under all circumstances and in the second instance we have no words of condemnation, and that your committee feels the American Federation of Labor through this convention can serve the best interests of all our fellow-workers regardless of where located and, moreover, those of our trade union movement by maintaining strict neutrality under existing circumstances.

We again repeat and express that fraternal spirit and world-wide sympathy and kindly regard for the welfare of our fellow-workers regardless of where located or of nationality.

While words cannot express the horror we feel over the terrible conflict now devastating Europe and by which so many human souls are being dropped into the vortex of eternity, we express the judgement that unless a larger measure of human liberty, justice and democracy shall come to the toiling masses, the frightful sacrifice has been and will be in vain.

Let us here express the hope that, while regretting the existence of the world war, since it has been inaugurated, its end will usher in an era which shall witness the establishment of a better understanding of labor's viewpoint and better economic, social and political conditions for all the workers, and finally that from the ashes of destruction and the carnage of conflict there shall be merged a new spirit, a new courage and the determination upon the part of labor to obtain and hold a fuller democracy which shall safeguard, protect and advance the liberties and material interests of the masses. While civilization has wandered far from the ideals of humanity and a brutalizing madness is temporarily enthroned in this war, we are neither pessimists nor necessarily

pacifists. We express the judgment that first the war cannot and will not crush the hopes and aspirations and activities of organized labor, and secondly the trade union movement will be a potential force in establishing and maintaining more permanent peace upon a foundation which will maintain greater justice and human liberty and finally stand as a bulwark of strength against wars of conquest waged in the interest of commercialism, kings, potentates and an oligarchy of arrogant autocracy grounded upon finance and commercialism.

International Labor Relations

We note with extreme regret the failure of certain European labor movements to accept the invitation and plan adopted by the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and submitted to all labor centers of all the countries to participate in a World Labor Congress at the same time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the present European war.

The present confusion and chaotic conditions of the world's trade union movement justify the wisdom of the proposition made and adopted at the San Francisco 1915 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, wherein we suggested that in times of stress, and when the normal functions and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be interrupted for any cause, that the office of the President should automatically revert to some neutral country. Had this been agreed to we would not now be facing the danger of a disruption of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

We cannot, and we do not, condemn the action of any federated center. We realize that they are influenced by extremely abnormal conditions, and that they are controlled by national and racial passions engendered by this war that are now at white heat; that their actions are not necessarily the sober second thought and judgment which might, and undoubtedly would be, expressed under normal living conditions.

We are keenly mindful of the fact that it is extremely difficult for us to get information to the labor movement of certain countries, and more difficult for such movements to get the true information to us. All communications are held up and censored, hence judgment should be stayed, and conclusions reached only after we are in possession of the absolute facts.

While we are forced to abandon the original proposition to hold a World Labor Congress at the time and place as the World's Peace Congress shall be held at the close of the war, while reaffirming the judgment which prompted the adoption of such a proposition, yet in the event of the failure to hold a congress such as proposed we concur with the Executive Council that some action should be taken and the necessary machinery adopted to carry forward the purposes and intent of such a congress and recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to continue efforts to bring about a conference after the war in which the organized labor movement of all countries affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions may participate, and that the Executive Council be instructed to have the American Federation of Labor represented in that conference, as directed by the San Francisco Convention.

From the results of the correspondence, as well as the conferences had between the representatives of the labor movement of the various European countries and some of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, it is not now determined whether the national conference proposed by the American Federation of Labor can be held, and yet we do not believe that the American Federation of Labor should entirely abandon the proposal. In any event we recommend that further effort be made to clear away the misapprehensions or whatever there may be of groundless opposition to the conference; that at

all events we urge that the labor movements of the various countries should insist upon representation by men of organized labor movement in the treaty-making congress in which the terms of peace and the future conduct of the nations shall be determined.

We hold that the voice of labor should be heard in the official congress of the nations and in the conferences of organized labor and that the Executive Council is authorized to carry both or either of these propositions into effect.

Mexico

The report of the Executive Council upon this subject contains irrefutable evidence of the potentially of the organized labor movement as an international influence for humanity, justice and peace. We are keenly appreciative of the constructive statesmanship that has been exercised by President Gompers and the Executive Council in maintaining human interests and giving expression to the ideals of the common people in the relations between our country and the Mexican Republic and in helping to avert hostilities which pernicious interests sought and are seeking to bring about in order to secure privileges and opportunities for exploitation.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to continue its present policies and to be on the alert to take advantage of all future opportunities for furthering humanitarian ideals and protecting the rights and interests of the workers of both countries.

The purposes of the Mexican revolution appeal to the highest concepts and impulses of all liberty loving men and women. The struggle now in progress in Mexico is the effort of a nation to free itself from irresponsible use of governmental power and from the letters of tyranny. We affirm the right of every nation to work out its own destiny in accord with the concepts and the genius of its own people. The labor movement of the United States through the President and the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council has been helpful in maintaining this right for the labor movement of Mexico, and we recommend that such intercourse and conferences as may be deemed helpful to this purpose shall be continued.

One immediate course for action presents itself. President Gompers submitted to this committee a decree issued by General Venustiano Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalist Government in Mexico City, on August 1, 1916. That decree is of vital importance to the very existence of the labor movement of Mexico. It is based upon a principle of universal significance to the workers of all countries, as is disclosed in these sections which we here quote:

Article 1. The death penalty shall be applied, not only to disturbers of the peace mentioned in the Law on January 25, 1862, but also to:

First—Those who may incite workmen to strike in factories and concerns devoted to public service, or who may engage in propaganda to that end; to those who may preside at meetings where such strikes are proposed, discussed, or approved; to those who may defend or uphold the same; to those who may approve or subscribe thereto; to those who may attend said meetings, or may not withdraw from the same as soon as they learn their purpose; and to those who strive to render the strike effective after it has once been declared.

Second—To those who, because of the suspension of work in said factories, or in any other, take advantage of disorders occasioned, or to aggravate matters and impose the strike by force, should proceed to damage, or destroy property of the concerns operated by the employes or workmen interested in the suspension, or belonging to other concerns whose workmen it is desired to cause to strike; and to those who, with the same purpose, may foment public disturbances, either

against public functionaries or against private parties, or who may have recourse to violence against the person or property of any citizen, or citizens, or who may proceed to take possession of, or destroy, or cause damage to public or to private property, and

Third—To those who by means of threats, or the use of force may prevent that others may work in the concern to take the place of the strikers.

Since this decree represents a tendency manifested by other governments to deny wage-earners the fundamental rights of free workers, we feel it the duty of this convention to voice the cause of labor in all countries. Because of the peculiar advantages which our nation or our labor movement now enjoy, we can give expression to the unalterable determination of the workers everywhere to refuse to relinquish a right secured or minimize our demands for freedom and justice.

Your committee learns with satisfaction that the President of the American Federation of Labor has already emphatically declared to the representatives of the Constitutionalist Government of Mexico that labor's sympathy with and approval of that government were based upon the friendly, helpful relations between it and the labor movement of Mexico and that continuation of that policy is necessary to our confidence.

On behalf of the Constitutionalist Government of Mexico its representatives explained that the cause of the issuance of the decree of August 1, 1916, was not against strikes inaugurated for improved conditions of the workers of Mexico, but that an order for a general strike had been issued by irresponsible, and at the time unknown, parties and demands made for conditions impossible to be conceded and that the government's representatives in Mexico sought in vain to have a conference with the persons who called the strike for the purpose of reaching an adjustment, but that no representative of any of the workers, organized or unorganized, responded.

Efforts have already been made to secure the revocation or the modification of the decree outlawing strikes in Mexico, and we recommend that this convention authorize and direct that these efforts be continued to the end that the labor movement of this country be helpful in every honorable way in restoring to Mexican wage-earners the rights and opportunities of free workers.

Pan-American Labor Relations

Your committee is in full accord with the expressions and declarations of the Executive Council upon this important matter. We hold that there are no other means whereby greater progress can be made and friendly relations maintained, misunderstandings prevented and cordial relations maintained among the workers—the masses, and finally a permanent and lasting peace between all republics of continental America except by first encouraging labor to organize there and secondly through the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We recommend that the Executive Council exert every available effort to first be helpful in organizing the workers of all Pan-American republics and, secondly, to federate them in the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers said:

"During the most critical period it seemed wise to endeavor to meet the situation by having a conference of representatives of labor in Mexico and some representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Our Mexican friends were impetuous and impatient; they came to the border without giving the representatives of the American Federation of Labor an opportunity to get there, and as a consequence the international conference was not held. Telegraphic communications were conducted between the representatives of labor and myself as to what

should be done, and it was decided that they would send representatives to Washington.

"At that time the organized workers of the state of Yucatan sent a committee consisting of Mr. Carlos Loviera and Mr. Balthaser Pages to help preach the doctrine of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. Mr. Loviera and Mr. Page, learning of our conference, came to Washington. About that time the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was in session and a general conference was held lasting several days. A joint declaration was reached and given to the world of our unalterable opposition to a conflict between the workers of Mexico and the workers of the United States, to endeavor to prevail upon the working people not to be inflamed, to prevail upon the governments of our respective countries to hold themselves properly in leash and prevent a conflict, even against the outbursts of jingoism and the exploiters. At that meeting there were a number of the representatives of the syndicalists, and of the trade unionists of Mexico and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and it was my privilege to communicate the opinions I had as to what form the organized labor movements of Mexico and of the South American republics should take in order to be of the most practical use to the workers.

"Mr. Pages was unable to accompany Mr. Loviera to the South American countries, but Mr. Loviera visited a number of these countries and took with him, not only the agreement reached, but also the suggested basis which I had the honor of formulating and to suggest to the workers of these countries. Mr. Loviera has made this special effort to come to Baltimore for the purpose of further conference, and if it meets the views of this convention we will hear from him at this time."

Mr. Loviera made an address of some length in which he discussed the labor movement in America, especially in Yucatan, the appreciation felt by the people there for the efforts that had been put forth by the American Federation of Labor to be helpful in establishing the movement in that country and bringing about a better understanding between the two nations. He gave many interesting details about the work that had been accomplished and what the workers hoped to do when peace should once more be established in Mexico. At the close of his address Mr. Loviera submitted the following report:

"Carlos Loviera, Chief of the Department of Labor of the State of Yucatan, Mexico, left said State last June with credentials from over twenty Yucatan labor unions, embracing about twelve thousand men. His mission was to come to the United States to secure credentials from President Gompers with which he expected to travel throughout South and Central America speaking for the plan of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. Loviera was one of the signers of the historic pact drawn up at Washington last July celebrating the first fraternal bond made between the labor movements of the United States and Mexico. After leaving the United States the first country Loviera spoke in was Peru. Following is his report, in part, to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore:

"In Peru I found three federations of labor, in the capital city, Lima. These organizations embrace, also, the labor movement of Callao, the largest seaport of this country; Callao was only twenty minutes' ride from Lima. One of these federations is called Liga de Sociedades Unidas—or The League of United Societies—and is composed of 38 societies, called, in Spanish, mutualistas, or mutual benefit

societies, which care for the sick, bury the dead and give support to widows and orphans. These societies were the first form of labor organization in Latin America, and although they do not deal much with economic problems they are of great importance if it is remembered that they fathered the labor movement in these countries. They are steadily taking on modern forms as fast as the labor struggle demands.

"Another federation is the Confederacion General de Trabajadores, or General Federation of Workers, which embraces ten labor unions. These unions are made up of men who work at such trades as hod-carriers, building laborers, trackmen, streetcar men and so on. The largest and strongest federation is called the Confederacion de Artisanos, or Federation of Artisans, working as printers, carpenters, masons, painters, tailors and so on. These three federations all belong to the Centro Latino Americano, or Latin-American Centre. This Centre has its own board of directors, chosen from the most able men of labor, and presided over by a printer by the name of Alberto J. Montes.

"Although they have no political labor party organized in Peru, they support candidates at elections who are friendly to labor, as does the American Federation of Labor. There are now six labor members in the provincial legislature of Lima.

"In Chili there is a similar centre working in co-operation with the Peruvian Centre. The purpose of this work is to promote a mutual and clear understanding as to their economic needs, and also to promote a lasting peace between the two countries, for be it known that the Governments of Chili and Peru have had no diplomatic relations since the last war of several years ago. This was the war in which Peru lost two provinces, which now belong to Chili. Both countries since their last struggle have been keeping their respective armies on a war footing.

"Each one of these labor centres has a resident delegate in the country of the other, and in this manner organized labor of Chili and Peru has formed a fraternal bond which at all times is a means of communication between the two peoples. And, while the governments are not represented by diplomatic agents, the organized workers of both countries are at all times in close touch with each other. This has been the great factor in the preservation of peace.

"These two centres have already met as a congress in Santiago, the capital of Chili, on the beginning of this year, and will meet again in December of this year in the same city.

"As an enlargement of this work it is proposed that all the other South and Central American countries join this movement by sending delegates to the coming congress in December. In this manner the plan of the Pan-American Federation of Labor grows in South America, as it is growing in Mexico and the United States.

"From Peru I went to Valparaiso, a city of two hundred thousand people, the largest seaport of Chili. In this city there are many unions, but no properly constituted federation. The lack of federation comes from the present uncertainty of the unions' papers.

"In the capital of Peru the labor movement publishes two very important weeklies as to what is the best form of tactics; leaders of different schools of thought all desire to bring the workers to their particular viewpoint. This state of things is common in Latin-American countries where they have failed to understand how to meet the needs of the hour and yet preserve the ideals of the working class. But in spite of these differences it was a pleasure for me to see at my lectures and addresses men from all the various schools of thought in the

labor movement. In addition I am glad to say that my meetings served as a common ground on which many differences were adjusted between the leaders with the prospect of still firmer bonds of union.

"A socialist movement is starting in Chili which publishes its own daily paper and several weekly reviews.

"The labor movement prints several weekly and semi-weekly papers in various Chilean towns. In addition, in Valparaiso, the two largest and important papers published daily a section entirely devoted to labor written by men from the ranks of labor. These two labor editors and the president of the largest union of Valparaiso were appointed a committee to accompany me to Santiago, and introduced me to the labor movement of the Chilean capital. Delegations met us at the stations along the route bearing printed greetings and flowers and singing labor songs.

"In Santiago I found the same divisions as to tactics and labor ideals that exist in Valparaiso, but unity is steadily growing. I found many strong unions besides the Latin-American Center of which I have spoken, the Railroad Brotherhood, which is the strongest, tailors, commercial clerks, and an important federation called Congress Obrero, or Labor Congress.

"In Buenos Aires the political power of the labor movement is concentrated in the Socialist party, which has a much stronger organization than the trades unions, and syndicates. The Socialist party in this country has about fifty thousand votes and has elected one senator and nine representatives to the National Congress. The strongest labor organization in Argentine is the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentine, or the Argentine Federation of Labor. This federation embraces twenty unions and syndicates, one of the unions being the Railroad Men's Federation, or Federacion Obrera Ferrocarrilera, with five thousand members. The Argentine Federation has a total of seventeen thousand members. There is another institution called, also, Argentine Federation of Labor, which is at the same time a strong organization. On account of their internal divisions I could not get exact information from it. Chauffeurs, printers and stevedores, have, also, a very powerful association. There are libraries, stores, and renting houses conducted by co-operation in the most modern form of co-operativism.

"In Uruguay I found a much better labor movement than in any of the others, but, nevertheless, it would be much stronger if it were not for the division of opinion among the leaders. Uruguay may be termed the Switzerland of the Western Hemisphere. It is the most liberal country in Latin-America in respect to legislation and customs of the people. The strong unions and syndicates that they have, have personality, influence enough to make the master class take them into consideration.

"Delegates will note that I was only in the four largest Spanish-speaking countries where there was a labor movement of size. And even in these countries I was only in the largest cities, being forced, for want of time, to pass by such important places as Punta Arenas, Antofagasta and Iquique, in Chili, and Rosario, La Plata and Mendoza, in Argentine, in some of them being even stronger labor movements than in the capitals. It should be noted that before the trip I have been speaking of I visited Cuba and Costa Rica. In order not to make this too long, I will briefly say that the labor conditions of these two countries resemble the conditions of Chili in regards to divisions of opinion in the labor ranks bringing about an inevitable weakness.

"The reception of my mission in all the Latin-American countries was one of enthusiasm for the idea of holding an international congress as the first practical step to a working bond, which, it is expected, will take the form of a Pan-American Federation of Labor."

Supplementary Report of Executive Council

We concur in the opinion expressed by the Executive Council that it is necessary to organize for peace in order to prevent unnecessary wars, wars for commercial and political exploitation or aggrandizement and unreservedly recommend for your adoption the constructive plan for that purpose outlined in the supplementary report of the Executive Council on International Relations.

Experience and history do not warrant us in believing that any plan will wholly abolish war, nor do we think that any nation can ever wholly relinquish the right to wage war. The right to oppose wrong and injustice is essential to the maintenance of the spirit and the purposes of ideals and institutions of freedom. Yet, while preserving our right to oppose any infringement of our rights and to protect our freedom, we hold that these can best be safeguarded by establishing institutions for dealing with relations between nations and thereby organizing that field for peace. We believe that through permanent institutions, mediation, conciliation and by directing forces and conditions as they develop, the causes of wars and wars themselves may be prevented.

We appreciate the fact that peace is essential to the highest development of civilization and that it is earnestly desired by all right-thinking people. But desire for peace is not in itself sufficient. There must be will for peace, together with agencies for making that will effective in the affairs of nations. There must be voluntary associated effort to establish justice so that there may be an honorable basis for permanent peace.

It is a purpose so valuable that it is worthy of our best thought and most intelligent efforts. The organized labor movement must present constructive suggestions if their concepts are to be considered while international institutions are in the making.

Therefore, we recommend for adoption the fundamentals contained in the report of the Executive Council as basis for an international organization for promoting justice between nations to the end that wars may be averted and human and national rights and freedom maintained.

International Relations in 1917

From the Executive Council's report, Buffalo Convention, November, 1917, which was unanimously adopted:

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

There has been practically no constructive development since the report to the Baltimore Convention on this subject. As was reported to that convention, there was, at that time, under consideration a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Berne, Switzerland, some time in December, 1916. The authorized representatives of the various trade union centers did not indorse this proposal and the conference was not held. Later in the year an effort was made to revive this project for holding a conference at Berne, Switzerland, but that also was not successful. For the convenience of the delegates to this convention as well as for the assistance of committees dealing with this particular subject, the correspondence upon this matter, as well as upon all other matters affecting international labor relations, is published in the November, 1917, *American Federationist*.

The announcement of the overthrow of despotism in Russia and the establishment of governmental control by the people is one of the encouraging results of the terrible European conflict. The change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom created a situation that was extremely critical. The advocates of freedom in Russia had had little practical experience and only opportunity for theorizing. The ardent advocates of human freedom were now made responsible for putting their theories and ideals into actual practice.

Since the overthrow of Czardom came in the midst of the European war the Russian people found themselves confronted by two gigantic problems, either of which was enough to test the mettle and ability of any nation well disciplined and well schooled in governmental activities. They had to develop methods and agencies for carrying on the war against the central European powers and also to devise and establish immediate provisional governmental agencies and to develop permanent constitutional institutions. All who had the best interest of Russia at heart were keenly apprehensive lest the Russian people, in their eagerness to establish freedom and their natural desire that every vestige of despotism within the country should be abolished, might be more eager to achieve these purposes than was at the time compatible with practical constructive results.

Nations with free institutions have found that the ideals of human freedom can not be established at once but that it is a matter of development following a constantly broadening ideal. Governmental agencies can only afford opportunity for freedom—people achieve freedom in their daily life.

The people of the United States, one of the oldest republics, felt keenly their responsibility to place at the disposal of the Russian people the experience that we have acquired since our declaration of freedom in 1776. No class of citizens rejoiced more deeply in the newly-established freedom of Russia and felt more keenly their obligation to assist the Russian people than the workers of America.

The enforced abdication of the Czar was followed by a provisional government, which made the following declaration of principles as the basis of an appeal for support:

"The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:

1. An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.
2. Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials, within the limits admitted by military requirements.
3. Abolition of all social, religious and national restrictions.

4. To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental regime.

5. The substitution of the police by a national militia with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the government.

6. Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.

7. The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed, but will remain in Petrograd.

8. While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.

The provisional government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned."

The Russian revolution was, in a large degree, the result of the aspirations and the efforts of Russia's workers. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that an expression of the feeling of America's workers should be conveyed to those in charge of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Therefore, we, in the interim of conventions, as the spokesmen of the American labor movement, sent cablegrams to the revolutionary leaders of Russia.

In order to assist the Russian leaders to steady the diverse and fervid movements in Russia which wished to direct constructive developments, the President of the United States determined to send a commission of special envoys to the Russian government. This commission was entrusted with the responsibility of conveying to the people and the revolutionary government of Russia a message of good will, hope, encouragement and support, and offering service and the experience and the methods of America in establishing and using free institutions. The Russian revolutionary government represents the will of the masses of the Russian people. That the American commission should receive the fullest confidence and trust of the revolutionary Russian government there was appointed upon the commission representatives of American workers and advocates of human freedom. In appointing the commission, President Wilson selected, among others, James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Mr. Duncan was the first representative of organized labor ever appointed on a diplomatic mission of the government of the United States.

From several different sources suggestions were made for the holding of international labor conferences. Early in the spring, it was suggested that a meeting of International Federation of Trade Unions be held in Berne, Switzerland, to consider several matters, among which the most important were the continuance of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the publication of the Weekly News Service of the International Secretariat, and the program adopted by the Leeds Conference, which met in England in July, 1916.

The Leeds program was a declaration formulated by representatives of the labor movements of the allied countries. It contains proposals, which it was suggested labor ought to seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty that shall be drawn up at the close of the war.

It is our opinion that the Leeds* program is not sufficiently constructive or comprehensive to enable the workers to take best advantage of the opportunity that will come in the Peace Congress. We feel that the Peace Congress will necessarily have to recommend some fundamental proposals for the better organization of international relations in order that in the future there may be some permanent agencies for dealing with the problems that arise in international affairs and to enable the nations to co-operate for the better management of their common interests and their individual needs.

Labor is vitally interested in the character and the scope of such proposals and can not afford to neglect the preparation of a concrete program. The Leeds

*Published in American Federationist November, 1917.

program does not contain suggestions dealing with this broader problem of international organization. Many of the specific articles in the Leeds program are concerned with matters of a legislative nature, many of which in our country come under the jurisdiction of the several states and not of the federal government. For this reason alone, it would be inexpedient, so far as our country is concerned, to have these subjects included in the terms of an international peace treaty.

The feeling aroused by the war is so intense, and the customs affecting communications between peoples of warring countries are so unfavorable, that the proposed Berne conference was not held.

When the Russian situation became very acute and the impact of external and internal forces aroused serious apprehension as to the future of that country, there was an effort among certain Russian leaders to secure an international conference of labor representatives, either in Russia or in some neutral country. Stockholm was suggested. Labor representatives, chiefly from neutral countries, and from the central allied powers, went to Stockholm to carry out this purpose. However, a general conviction prevailed that the forces controlling and perhaps manipulating the proposed Stockholm conference, were really disingenuous and were in furtherance of the interests of autocracy with the hope of misleading the working people of all countries. We believe that the purposes of those directing the Stockholm movement were of such character as has been properly designated by the term, "peace aggressive."

The labor movements of the United States and Great Britain felt that they could not send representatives to Stockholm and act in good faith with their own governments and fellow-citizens who were sacrificing for the cause of human justice and democracy. Therefore the American labor movement refused to send representatives. The British labor movement at first acted in accord with the suggestion of Arthur Henderson, then a member of the British Cabinet, and voted to send delegates. However, when the British government refused to issue passports to the British delegates and Lloyd George published correspondence in which it was stated that Kerensky, the head of the Russian government, did not indorse the Stockholm conference as the proposition to hold a conference came originally from Russian leaders, it was felt that the conference did not carry enough sanction to make it effective.

The French government also refused to issue passports to French delegates.

In the meanwhile the British labor party issued invitations to the labor movements of the allied and neutral countries to attend an international conference in London in August. Exchange of telegrams disclosed the fact that neither the labor movement of Great Britain nor of France were consulted as to whether these conferences should be held. As a consequence the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress were instructed not to attend that conference but to attend the conference called by the labor movements of the allied countries September 10 at London. This in addition to their duty to attend the British Trade Union Congress the week beginning September 3. In his cablegram President Gompers said that the American Federation of Labor was the official representative of the organized workers of America and that it could not and would not share with any political party the right to represent the workers of this country. The London conference of August 28 and 29 consisted of representatives of political movements rather than labor movements.

As the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to the British Trade Union Congress would be in England at that time, the Executive Council authorized them to represent the American labor movement in the London conference. This authorization was given and the fraternal delegates, Mr. Golden and Mr. Lord, participated in the London conference. Their report will be made to this convention.

PEACE TERMS

It is an imperative duty from which there is no escape that wage-earners as well as all other citizens of this Republic support our government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved.

When nations can send representatives to negotiate peace terms in accord with this concept, we maintain that the basic provisions of the peace treaty should be formulated with regard to the rights and welfare of the men, women and children constituting the nations rather than the governments of the nations. The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives. This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government.

We hold that the same principles should apply to relations between nations and that secret diplomacy should be replaced by diplomatic representatives responsible to the people of their own people and received by either the Parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people, responsible to them.

We made recommendation in our report to the Baltimore Convention for the organization of international relations. Existing international anarchy has invited imperialism on the part of strong governments and has furnished opportunity and occasion for war. Militarism finds its justification in international anarchy and can be abolished only when international relations are organized.

There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievement of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. Working people have never been properly represented in diplomatic affairs. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action.

We urge the adoption of the following declarations as the basis upon which peace must be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.
2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

The war has swept away the ante bellum world and has rendered antiquated and useless many institutions. Others have broken down under the difficulties and problems of war needs. We can benefit from our experiences by retaining that which has demonstrated its efficiency and rejecting that which has failed. Many of the problems of reconstruction can not be worked out during the war while feeling is so intense. With the coming of peace will come a different attitude of mind on the part of all. The situation and opportunities which peace will bring will be without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unembarrassed in helping to shape the principles and agencies for the future.

We suggest, therefore, all prejudice and partisan spirit can best be eliminated by reconstructing international labor relations and thus bring to new problems and a new era, activity and co-operation unhampered and unperturbed by former alliances or old feuds.

The basis of reconstruction should be the trade union movements of the various countries. We recommend that an international labor conference of representatives of the trade union movements of all countries be held at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress that Labor may be in touch with plans under consideration and may have the benefit of information and counsel of those participating in the Congress.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

As authorized by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore November 13, 1916, and in pursuance of the directions of the Executive Council, the first Pan-American Federation of Labor conference was held in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, D. C., on January 31, 1917, at which were present: Samuel Gompers, representing the A. F. of L.; Santiago Iglesias, representing the organized workers of Porto Rico; Carlos Loviera, representing the organized workers of Yucatan, Mexico, and John Murray, member of the International Typographical Union.

Permanent organization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was effected, the committee electing Samuel Gompers chairman, and John Murray secretary.

The first public act of the committee was to draw up and mail to secretaries of the labor unions throughout Latin-America a manifesto in Spanish and English, sending greetings to the workers of Latin-America and suggesting an outline of the international work necessary to the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The manifesto urged that representatives from the organized labor movements of all Latin-American countries select and send delegates to Washington to join in the work of the committee. The manifesto was published in the March 1917, *American Federationist*, page 196.

A mass of correspondence has been received and answered by the committee, correspondence containing data of infinite value in making public to the labor movement of the United States of North America the vast growth of the labor movement within the last few years, not only in Mexico but throughout South and Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo.

Mexico alone has within the last two years organized nearly half a million workers in her various trades unions. The Carranza decree declaring strikes illegal and threatening those promoting strikes with death penalties was reported to the Baltimore Convention. This situation caused grave anxiety both to the labor movement in this country and in Mexico. Assurances were at that time given through the Mexican representatives on the United States-Mexico Com-

mission, that the decree was only temporary in character and would not be used to destroy the labor movement.

The new constitution adopted by the Congress at Queratero contained a provision expressly recognizing the legality of the right to strike. That portion of the Mexican constitution is quoted in an editorial entitled "Freedom Gives National Virility," published in the March, 1917, *American Federationist*.

Particular attention is drawn to the first actual and practical contact between the Mexican and American workers in the state of Arizona, where it has been demonstrated throughout the strikes of the past two years that Mexican and American miners stand shoulder to shoulder when oppressed by organized capital seeking to lower standards of living and to disrupt labor unions. Fourteen thousand Mexican miners work in the copper, silver and gold mines of Arizona. Over half of the membership of the Arizona State Federation of Labor is either of Mexican blood or birth. At its last annual convention in Clifton, the State Federation elected a committee of five to hold an international conference with representatives of the Sonora Workingmen's Congress of Mexico for the purpose of devising practical plans for mutual aid in industrial action. In the United States today there are between one and two million Mexican workers concentrated particularly in Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, California, Utah, Oklahoma, Colorado, Louisiana, and Kansas. One-fourth of the coal miners in the Southern Colorado fields are Mexicans, and a much larger proportion are at work in the mines of New Mexico. Organizers in both the United Mine Workers of America and the Mine, Mill, and Smeltermen agree that the Mexican is as quick to organize and maintain the solidarity of the labor movement as the American worker.

Cuba was the first to respond to the invitation of the committee to send a resident delegate to Washington; Antonio Correa Gonzales, who presented his credentials from thirty-four Cuban unions to the committee was regularly seated as a member of the committee on August 20, 1917.

On the same day Edmundo Martinez, representing the Federated Syndicates of Mexico, was also seated as a member of the committee.

The representative of Cuba and the representative from Yucatan, as well as the representative of Chili, have made reports upon the labor movement in their respective states and we recommend that these reports be published in an early issue of the *American Federationist*.

Communications received from Pan-American countries in regard to the holding of a Pan-American Congress show that the sentiment in the following countries, as expressed by labor organizations, is favorable: Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, St. Kitts Island, British West Indies, and Porto Rico.

Individual representatives of organized labor from Chili, United States of Columbia, Uruguay, and Panama have expressed their personal approval of the plan. In practically none of the South American states is there a general labor organization authorized to speak for all the workers of the country.

It is difficult to interpret sentiment in the various countries even with the replies that have been received. Many of the labor organizations are numerically and financially weak. The work of disseminating information about the proposed Pan-American conference and answering inquiries as to methods and policies is necessarily slow in development.

The conference committee has under consideration the advisability of calling a congress of the labor movements of Pan-American countries at an early date, possibly the early part of 1918.

LABOR AND THE WAR

It was not long after the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it became plain that our country could not long avoid taking part in the European war. The war had become world-wide in scope and involved issues of such a nature that our Republic could not much longer remain neutral.

The Imperial German Government flagrantly imposed upon the neutrality of this country and the unbroken relations of good-will and friendship that had existed between the people of the United States and the German people since the formation of our Republic. When it became plain that the German government intended to trifle ruthlessly with its pledges to our government and with the lives and rights of our citizens, self-respect and appreciation of the rights of our citizens demanded that there should be no receding from our definition of rights and principles.

Under all circumstances it is the duty of any government to protect its people against willful and wholesale murder. A government unable or unwilling to make every sacrifice in maintaining that principle is unworthy the respect and support of the people and should be overthrown.

A people unwilling to make the supreme sacrifice in support of the government which undertakes to make that principle good are undeserving to live and enjoy the privilege of free, democratic government.

The situation in which our country found itself is best set forth in that masterly address which President Wilson made to the Congress of the United States in joint session on that memorable April 2, 1917. In addition to the value of the address because of the information it contains we wish to aid in immortalizing it by reproducing it in our report:

Address by the President

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before your the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion and of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of

the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. *Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be.* The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a warfare against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and the people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. *We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of rights, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.*

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the ineffectiveness of belligerents. *There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut at the very roots of human life.*

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise

that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. *It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.*

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-second of February. *Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the*

really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no man has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and

without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began, and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. *We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them.*

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

The Congress of the United States on April 6 passed a resolution declaring war upon the Imperial Government of Germany and directed the President of the United States to employ the armed forces of our country to carry the purposes of the war to a successful end. We made every effort to prevail upon Congress to avoid compulsory military service, but we were not successful, the law having been enacted for the drafting of all available men between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive.

The necessity for the development of plans for defense of the nation became imperative. The scope of the war was so gigantic and the nature of modern warfare so complex that mobilization of our nation necessitated reorganization of the entire nation from a peace to a war basis. Such plans affect the life and the work of the entire nation. Whether in peace or in war tools are the basic instrumentalities for all creative work. The determination of defense plans was of vital concern to wage-earners. The issues and the consequences were so tremendous that responsible agents had to have ready plans to meet any emergency. It was of vital importance that those immediately affected by

these plans should have a voice in their determination. Clearly if wage-earners, as represented in the organized labor movement, remained aloof from all participation in defense activities and preparations, they would have to accept the determination of those outside of, and perhaps hostile to, the labor movement who either had no personal knowledge of the lives and problems of workers or were the active enemies of organized labor. If wage-earners did not take a responsible part in determining our relations to war work that field would be left undisputed to those not immediately concerned in their welfare.

In addition to this plain duty of defending their rights and interests, the radical changes necessary for mobilization afforded opportunity that would either be used by the wage-earners in furtherance of human welfare and progress or would be used by the agents of reaction and for the entrenchment of the privileges of wealth.

The only justification for the destruction of war is that the sweeping aside of existing conditions affords opportunity for the establishment of new ideals and conditions based upon broader and truer concepts of human rights.

It was, in view of this situation, that the Executive Council approved the proposition submitted to them by President Gompers that a conference of the representatives of the national and international trade unions be called at Washington to consider the position which American labor should take toward the war situation. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the representative officials of all national organizations, both those affiliated to the A. F. of L. and those not affiliated, asking them to meet in Washington in the A. F. of L. Building March 12. The E. C. met on March 9 and devoted the following three days to the preparation of a statement to be submitted to the conference for consideration and action. There were present at that conference, in addition to the members of the E. C., 148 representatives of 79 affiliated organizations, 5 unaffiliated organizations, and 5 departments of the A. F. of L. The full list of those present is as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—President, Samuel Gompers; Secretary, Frank Morrison; Treasurer, John B. Lennon; First Vice-President, James Duncan; Second Vice-President, James O'Connell; Third Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine; Fourth Vice-President, John R. Alpine; Fifth Vice-President, H. B. Perham; Sixth Vice-President, Frank Duffy; Seventh Vice-President, William Green; Eighth Vice-President, William D. Mahon.

ASBESTOS WORKERS—Jos. A. Mullaney, V. E. McLelland.

BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY—A. A. Myrup, Chas. F. Hohmann.

BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS—P. F. Murphy, Wm. McCarthy.

BLACKSMITHS—G. C. Van Dornes.

BOILERMAKERS—J. A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, A. E. Barksdale.

BOOKBINDERS—A. P. Sovey.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS—C. L. Baine, Collis Lovely.

BREWERY WORKMEN—A. J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, John Sullivan.

BRICKLAYERS—Thos. R. Preece.

BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—Jos. E. McClory, Edward Ryan.

CARMEN, RAILWAY—M. F. Ryan, J. F. McCreerv, J. S. Wilds, R. E. Hamilton.

CARPENTERS, UNITED BROTHERHOOD—Frank Duffy.

CARRIAGE, WAGON, AUTOMOBILE WORKERS—Wm. A. Logan.

CIGARMAKERS—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers.

CLERKS, POST OFFICE—Thos. F. Flaherty.

CLERKS, RAILWAY—Jas. J. Forrester.

CLERKS, RAILWAY POSTAL—Carl Freeman.

CLERKS, RETAIL—E. E. Baker.

COOPERS—Andrew C. Hughes.

DIAMOND WORKERS—Andries Meyer.
 ELECTRICAL WORKERS—F. J. McNulty, Wm. A. Hogan, W. S. Godshall,
 J. J. Purcell, George L. Kelley, J. S. McDonagh.
 ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS—Frank Feeney, Frank Schneider.
 ENGRAVERS, PHOTO—Matthew Woll.
 FIREMEN—Timothy Healy, Newton A. James.
 FUR WORKERS—A. W. Miller.
 GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED—Thos. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Abe Berkson.
 GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS—John A. Voll, Harry Jenkins, James Maloney.
 GLASS WORKERS, FLINT—Wm. P. Clark.
 GRANITE CUTTERS—James Duncan.
 HAT AND CAP MAKERS—M. Zuckerman, Max Zaritsky.
 HATTERS—John W. Sculley, Martin Lawlor.
 HODCARRIERS—D. D'Alessandro.
 HORSESHOERS—Hubert S. Marshall, John F. Kane.
 HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES—Edward Flore.
 IRON, TIN AND STEEL WORKERS—John Williams, M. F. Tighe.
 JEWELRY WORKERS—Julius Birnbaum, Abraham Greenstein.
 LACE OPERATIVES—David L. Gould.
 LATHERS, WOOD, WIRE—Wm. J. McSorley.
 LAUNDRY WORKERS—Harry L. Morrison.
 LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS—W. E. Bryan.
 LONGSHOREMEN—Anthony J. Chlopek, Wm. F. Dempsey.
 MACHINISTS—Wm. H. Johnston, Fred Hewitt, E. L. Tucker, A. E. Holder.
 MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES—Allan E. Barker, Henry Irwin.
 MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS—J. H. Pruett, Ulster Davis, Alfred B. Devlin,
 Robert S. Lavender.
 MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN—Homer D. Call.
 METAL POLISHERS—W. W. Britton.
 METAL WORKERS, SHEET—John J. Hynes, O. E. Hoard, Harry H. Stewart.
 MINE WORKERS, UNITED—Wm. Green, Van Bittner, Wm. Diamond.
 MOLDERS, IRON—John P. Frey.
 MUSICIANS—Jos. N. Weber, J. E. Birdsell.
 PAINTERS—Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp.
 PATTERN MAKERS—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, A. J. Berres.
 PAVING CUTTERS—Carl Bergstrom.
 PLASTERERS, OPERATIVE—E. J. McGivern, Chas. Smith.
 PLATE PRINTERS—Jas. E. Goodyear, William G. Holder.
 PLUMBERS—John R. Alpine, Wm. J. Spencer, Wm. J. Tracy.
 POTTERS, OPERATIVE—Edward Menge, Frank H. Hutchins, John T. Wood,
 S. M. Moore.
 PRINT CUTTERS—Ralph T. Holman.
 PRINTING PRESSMEN—Jos. C. Orr, Henry J. Hardy.
 QUARRY WORKERS—Fred W. Suitor.
 RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, STREET AND ELECTRIC—W. D. Mahon.
 ROOFERS, COMPOSITION—J. T. Hurley.
 SEAMEN'S UNION—Andrew Furuseth, V. A. Olander.
 SIGNALMEN, RAILROAD—A. E. Adams.
 STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS—Benj. Goldsworthy.
 STAGE EMPLOYEES, THEATRICAL—Chas. C. Shay.
 STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN—T. J. Brady.
 STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS—James S. Briggs.
 STONECUTTERS—Sam Griggs, Walter W. Drayer.
 SWITCHMEN—S. E. Heberling.
 TAILORS—Thos. Sweeney.

TEACHERS—Chas. B. Stillman.
 TEAMSTERS—Daniel J. Tobin, P. H. Jennings.
 TELEGRAPHERS, RAILROAD—H. B. Perham, J. F. Miller.
 TEXTILE WORKERS—John Golden.
 TOBACCO WORKERS—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans.
 TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—Michael J. Carraher, Tito Pacelli.
 UPHOLSTERERS—Jas. H. Hatch, John Hanley.
 WEAVERS, AMERICAN WIRE—John F. Curley.
 WHITE RATS ACTORS—Jack Hayden.

Unaffiliated Organizations

LOCOMOTIVE AND ENGINEMEN—W. S. Carter.
 RAILWAY TRAINMEN—W. G. Lee.
 RAILWAY CONDUCTORS—L. E. Sheppard.
 LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS—W. S. Stone.
 NATIONAL WINDOW GLASS WORKERS—Herbert Thomas

A. F. of L. Departments

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT—John Donlin.
 METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT—A. J. Berres.
 MINING DEPARTMENT—James Lord.
 RAILROAD EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT—A. O. Wharton.
 UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT—J. W. Hays.

The declaration was submitted to the conference. A spirit of intense seriousness pervaded the deliberations. The representatives of the workers in practically every trade had encountered new situations developing out of defense measures that made them realize the nearness of war and its consequence to the labor movement. With profound attention they listened to the reading of the following declaration:

American Labor's Position in Peace or in War

We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an

opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employees, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted cooperation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the cooperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity.

The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford it greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective cooperation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with wage-earners.

Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers; who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its

part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the state from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with the masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made between military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government cooperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

After careful consideration and thorough discussion of each paragraph of the declaration the members of the conference unanimously adopted it. Thus the declaration of Labor's attitude whether in peace or in war was unanimously set forth by the conference before the declaration of war by the Congress of the United States.

In addition to the declaration of principle it is necessary to organize agencies for carrying the declaration into effect. As was reported to the Baltimore Convention President Wilson appointed the President of the American Federation of Labor one of the seven men composing the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. In carrying on the work of the Advisory Commission each member of the Commission was authorized to appoint a committee to help him in performing his duties. Mr. Gompers, as chairman of the Committee on Labor Including Conservation and Welfare of Workers, asked a number of representative men and women to accept membership on his committee. Since the jurisdiction of the committee was to be as wide as the labor relations arising out of war work for the government, it was fitting that the members of the committee should represent all elements concerned in determining or regulating labor conditions. The personnel of the committee, therefore, included employers of labor, financiers, directors of corporations, publicists, technicians, as well as representatives of men and women employed as wage-earners. The functions of the committee were purely advisory and necessarily subject to the approval of the Advisory Commission and the Council of National Defense. For practical work the following committees were organized:

Executive Committee.

Wages and Hours.

Mediation and Conciliation.

Women in Industry.

Information and Statistics.

Press.

Publicity.

Cost of Living and Domestic Economy.

Welfare Work, which includes the following divisions:

- (a) Industrial Safety.
- (b) Sanitation.
- (c) Vocational Education.
- (d) Housing.
- (e) Recreation.
- (f) Public Education in Health Matters.
- (g) Standard Guides for Employers.

English Labor Commission

Realizing that the experience of workers in other countries who had been meeting and solving labor war problems would be of benefit to the workers of this country who were taking the initial steps in war matters, President Gompers cabled to Premier Lloyd George of Great Britain and Premier Ribot of France asking them to send representative labor men to advise with American workers. Mr. Lloyd George promptly cabled that he would send a commission of labor men as requested. Ambassador Jusserand of France wrote Mr. Gompers that he was instructed by his government to see that the best and most appropriate plan for Mr. Gompers to follow in securing representatives of French workers was to communicate directly with Mr. Jouhaux asking him to send two French workmen. In accord with this suggestion Mr. Gompers cabled to Mr. Jouhaux and Mr. Keufer of Paris. A cable in reply was received to the effect that it was impossible for the French labor movement to comply with the request from America. Upon the receipt of the cable from the British government a similar request was sent to the Prime Minister of Canada that Canadian representatives of labor be sent to the conference. The British Commission consisted of the following:

Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, Privy Councillor and member of British House of Commons; secretary of British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.

Right Hon. James H. Thomas, Privy Councillor, member of Parliament; general secretary National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain and Ireland.

Joseph Davies, member of the secretariat of the prime minister.

H. W. Garrod, representing labor, department of Ministry of Munitions.

The Canadian representatives were:

J. C. Waters, President of the Trades and Labor Council of Canada.

Gideon D. Robertson, Vice-President of the National Association of Railway Telegraphers.

As soon as the British delegates arrived in this country a meeting of the Committee on Labor was arranged for April 2. There was a large attendance at the meeting which lasted all day and evening. The British labor men were given ample opportunity to relate the full story of the war experiences of the English workers and to tell how the British Government and the English workers have worked out their joint problems and to answer all questions asked by the members of the Committee on Labor. The valuable information presented in these meetings was recorded stenographically, published in the *American Federationist* and later was made a Senate document.*

Arrangements were made for the British delegates to visit some of the industrial centers and to speak to representative audiences in various cities which included New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Albany, Schenectady, and Boston. In these meetings the members of the British Labor Commission told how the English people were meeting their labor problems arising out of war work and conditions and made suggestions to Americans how to deal with local situations.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation

One of the most conspicuous services rendered by the Committee on Labor is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation Legislation. In the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor, compensation to be paid to soldiers and sailors and the problem of taking care of their families were discussed. Later, through Mr. Gompers, the matter was presented to the Council of National Defense with the suggestion that the Committee on Labor be authorized to take up the whole subject-matter and to draft appropriate legislation. The suggestion was approved by the Council of National Defense. Mr. Gompers appointed Judge Julian W. Mack as chairman of the committee to draft the

*The document is No. 84, 65th Congress, 1st session.

legislation. This committee reported to the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor the most comprehensive legislation of this character ever drafted.

Judge Mack and his committee afterwards cooperated with the committee appointed by the Treasury Department to investigate the matter of insurance for soldiers and sailors and to make report to that department. As a result of conference the bill, as drawn by Judge Mack, was adopted as the report of the Treasury Committee and in this form was approved by the Council of National Defense and the President of the United States. The bill thus became an administration measure.

The military and naval compensation and insurance bill extends the work of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, which was established at the beginning of the war, first to provide insurance for ships and then for merchant seamen. It is a great step forward in giving to the men in the service not charity but justice, in telling them in advance just what they will get, and thus freeing them and their families from that worst of all fears, the fear that they and their loved ones may become objects of charity.

It provides for a generous contribution by the government to the wife and the children of all enlisted men during the period that the husband and father is fighting for his country, but it does not absolve him from his primary duty of contributing in proportion to his pay to their support. Every man with wife or child must give at least \$15 a month; if his pay exceeds \$30 a month, he must give more than that, up to one-half his pay, provided the government itself contributes more than that. The government adds monthly from \$5 for a single orphan child, up to \$50 for a wife and five children. While a man does not have to give anything to other dependents, he may give a small amount monthly to dependent father, mother, brother, sister or grandchild, and in that event the government will help along. The highest amount, however, that the government adds is \$50 a month.

If a man becomes disabled or dies in the line of duty, he and his family are no longer given a gratuitous pension, but they are given compensation, in analogy to the compensation given to working men in the civil employment of the government. But this disability compensation differs from that provided in any other law. It takes the family as the unit that is serving the country, not the individual man. It bases the compensation upon the size of the family from time to time. While a totally disabled bachelor will get \$30 a month, the man with a wife and four children will get \$75 a month. Twenty dollars is added, if a nurse or attendant is required; \$10 more if a man has a dependent widowed mother; but if he loses both feet, both hands, both eyes, or becomes totally blind, or helplessly bedridden, he gets \$100 a month regardless of whether he is married or not. In case of his death resulting from injuries or disease received in the line of duty, the widow and children and widowed mother get sums ranging from \$20 to \$75 a month, according to the size of the family. And no distinction is made between a private and the highest officer.

But the great new feature of this bill, the feature that marks it as the most progressive social legislation of any country in the war, is the insurance article. Men who go into the war can not protect themselves by insurance because private companies necessarily charge a prohibitive rate. Under this law the entire people bear the war risk. The government is selling insurance to the men at peace time rates; but more than this, it is not even charging what private companies charge in peace times; it cuts off all that they add for expenses. And this is done because the government, in the first place, has only the expense of administration and none of the other expenses that private companies have, and, in the second place, because it was believed right and just that the entire people should bear the cost of administering this branch of the service. And as the only sensible kind of insurance for a man to take when, as in these cases, he is about to go into an extra-hazardous employment for a short time, is the cheapest possible insurance, the government is offering

only that—a yearly renewable term insurance that costs a man of 29 about \$8 per thousand annually. But as that kind of insurance costs more each year and would be a terrible burden if the man reach old age, the law compels him to change it into one of the ordinary forms, costing somewhat more but much better as a permanent thing, within five years after the war. This permanent insurance, however, will also be issued at net rates without any charge for expenses.

Men must make up their minds promptly whether they want the insurance or not. They are given four months' time, and any man, private or officer, can take from \$1,000 to \$10,000 worth of it. The insurance is wisely guarded. It can not be assigned; it can not be taken by creditors either of the insured or of the beneficiary; it is payable only to certain relatives—wife, child, grandchild, parent, brother or sister; and when it falls due it will not be paid out in a lump sum, but in monthly installments over a period of 20 years, with 3½ per cent interest on the unpaid installments. That means that on a \$10,000 insurance policy, the family will get \$57.50 a month for 20 years. And for good measure the government has thrown in this additional provision, that if a man becomes totally and permanently disabled these monthly payments will begin and they will continue during his entire life, even though he lives more than 20 years.

Housing

Another big problem upon which the Labor Committee has been helpful is the housing problem resulting from congestion in centers where war production is being carried on and where the number of workers that have been gathered together far exceed the provisions for housing them. The Sub-Committee on Housing of the Committee on Labor investigated the situation existing in many localities. As a result of the investigation and the data secured it was shown that in places where work necessary for the continuation of the war was being carried on, there was already inadequate housing and such conditions that the necessary number of workers could not be secured because they could not find lodging. This situation was reported to the Advisory Commission and the Council of National Defense. It was agreed by these two bodies that a commission be appointed upon which Labor was represented by Mr. Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

This committee is to report definite plans and the matter is then to be brought to the President of the United States for consideration, for such action as may be immediately necessary to meet emergencies.

Other Sub-Committees of the Committee on Labor have under consideration proposals that will be submitted at the proper time.

Labor Representation

In accord with the policy adopted by the Baltimore Convention that wage-earners should have representatives on all government boards, committees, and agencies dealing with matters which concern wage-earners, an effort has been made by the organized labor movement to secure proper representation on agencies carrying on defense work. Representatives of wage-earners are upon many of the state and local committees cooperating with the national council.

One of the first war measures which vitally concern wage-earners was the selective conscription act. To see that this law was administered without discrimination and prejudice was of vital concern to them. The President of the A. F. of L. presented to the War Department that representatives of wage-earners should be appointed on the District Exemption Boards which had appellate jurisdiction over all exemption cases and direct jurisdiction over industrial cases. These District Boards were to consist of 5 persons. President Gompers was asked to submit the name of one wage-earner for membership

upon each board. Representative labor men in each state were asked to send names, which were submitted to the War Department. Upon practically every District Exemption Board there is a representative of wage-earners.

From time to time there have been constituted various boards and commissions to deal with different phases of war work. Whenever this work concerned wage-earners a request has been made for representation. There are now wage-earners on the most important agencies dealing with such work, Mr. John Donlin, President of the Building Trades, on the Emergency Construction Board; Mr. John P. White, President of the United Mine Workers of America, assistant to Dr. Harry A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator; Mr. Charles L. Baine on the special committee on War Savings Certificates appointed by Secretary McAdoo; Miss Agnes Nestor, First Vice-President of the Glove Makers, on the Women's Board; Mr. J. W. Sullivan, member of the International Typographical Union, and Mr. Wm. N. Doak, Vice-President and Legislative Committeeman of the Railway Trainmen, on the Food Administration Board; Mr. Hugh Frayne, organizer for the A. F. of L., on the War Industries Board, which acts as a clearing house for the war industry needs of the government determining the most effective way of meeting them and the best means and methods of increasing production, including creation or extension of industries demanded by the emergency, the sequence and relative urgency of the needs of the different government services, and which also considers price factors, and, in first instance the industrial and labor aspects of problems involved, and general questions affecting the purchase of commodities. The work of the committee is subdivided into the following divisions: Raw materials, finished products, priorities. All labor relations connected with any of these divisions are referred to the labor representative, Mr. Frayne. An effort is now under way to secure proper labor representation on all subcommittees.

The following report of the Committee on International Relations was adopted unanimously:

We hold and declare that no movement can properly function, regardless of whether it be economic, social or political, in the absence of free speech, free press and the constitutional rights of the people to exercise self-government.

After all, democracy is the first essential in the lives of the peoples of all nations. No movement of any nature can properly function without freedom of action and self-government, which are inseparably associated with democracy. The trade union movement, first in importance in the economic field, is necessarily dependent on democracy in the organic form of governments. There was no real trade union movement in Russia, nor can there be in any other country that is burdened with autocracy. Upon these fundamentals rest the successful achievements of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice.

Under this caption, several subjects interesting and of vital importance to our movement and to our country are set forth with accuracy and clearness, and are worthy of the fullest perusal and keenest thought. We urge all delegates and all others to carefully read all that is said on this subject. It particularly refers to the change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom; the declaration of basic principles and policies of the provisional government of Russia and the appointment of a commission by President Wilson to visit Russia on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Government of the United States.

We note with keen interest the appointment of James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, upon this important commission. We appreciate the action of President Wilson and felicitate the American people upon the wisdom of his selection. Upon this important mission full recognition was given to the trade union movement, to the workers—the masses—and it required one who possessed an intimate basic knowledge of the rise and

development of the labor movement of our country, its achievements, its hopes and its aspirations, all of which are possessed to a remarkable degree by our esteemed fellow trade-unionist, Brother Duncan. We moreover congratulate Brother Duncan upon his selection and for the eminently successful manner in which he discharged the obligations resting upon him.

We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reaching beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centuries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom. The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

We note with the greatest satisfaction the cable messages of fraternity and good will sent to the people and the provisional government of the new Russian democracy by President Gompers and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of conferences held and proposed by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other associations, we shall have more to say under a separate caption. Suffice it at present to say we concur and recommend for endorsement the action of our officers and the Executive Council in connection with these important conferences.

Peace Terms

There can be no true co-operation from an international standpoint except where the elected and responsible representatives of the workers participate under an agreement which recognizes and safeguards the rights of each nation to fix and declare its own destiny, and yet broad enough, big enough and intelligent enough to submerge selfishness and non-essentials to the common good of the workers of all nations.

Peace terms should presage a condition tending to a lasting peace grounded upon conditions that are just, fair and honorable to the peoples of all countries.

We agree with the Executive Council that "The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives," and further, that "This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government," and moreover, "There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievements of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the Government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action."

The Executive Council offers the following declaration as a basis upon which peace should be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing with a clear understanding that it is submitted as a basis upon which peace terms may be negotiated.

In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended in its report, the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that are given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to co-ordination for production.

One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life.

It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice.

If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to declare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American Government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time.

This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the central powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character.

Conditions are changing from day to day and that which appeals to our judgment today as proper fundamental peace terms may be changed over night.

Genuine democracy, the great issue now in war, had no lodgment in the minds and hearts of those who started this war; neither was it an appreciable issue until made so by our entrance into the war. Other sound principles may

develop, which we should like later to make one of the basic principles upon which peace should be declared.

When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted.

When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this subject we call special attention to the November issue of the *American Federationist*, which contains much interesting and instructive correspondence.

The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, instructed the Executive Council to call a labor peace conference of all nations at the time and place the peace conference is held by the belligerent nations, and authorized the Executive Council to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. This action was reaffirmed at the Baltimore convention in 1916.

Your committee recommends that that action be again confirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

Pan-American Relations

We note with extreme interest all that is said by the Executive Council under this caption, and that the representatives of the organized workers of Porto Rico, Yucatan, Mexico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Peru, Argentine, St. Kitts Island, British West Indies, Chili, United States of Colombia, Uruguay and Panama have expressed their approval of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. We urge that the Executive Council give its earnest attention to and endeavors to organize a Pan-American Federation of Labor and to encourage the development of a well-disciplined cohesive trade union movement in our sister republics of the south. The best interests of the workers of these republics as well as our own and of all countries can be best safeguarded by trade unions and trade union activities.

Much interesting information concerning the activity of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and their helpfulness to the workers of the southern republics can be found in the November issue of the *American Federationist*. We recommend that the Executive Council continue to give what assistance and counsel it can for the development of the trade union movement in all Pan-American countries.

This report of the Committee on Resolutions was adopted unanimously:

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At no time in the history of the labor movement have conditions been more fraught with dangerous situations than at present, this because of our entrance into the world's war; and

WHEREAS, The slightest misstep or mistake in commission or omission, or an error in judgment would have placed organized labor in a position that it would take years to overcome. The situation not of our seeking led to conditions over which we had no control, and required strong, clear-sighted and courageous leadership; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council proved equal to the occasion, and proved their loyalty to the trade union movement, to labor in general, and to our country as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session assembled

fully endorse and concur in the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council in calling a conference of the National and International officers on March 12th, nearly one month before war was declared, and concur in the action taken at that conference at which the representatives of labor declared their unswerving loyalty and fidelity to the labor movement and to our common country in peace or in war, and while asserting that insofar as lies within its power labor would suffer none of the successes achieved as a result of years of sacrifice and struggle to be taken away from labor on any pretext, and while hoping for an honorable peace, they declared that if our country were drawn into the maelstrom we would stand squarely behind the administration and our country, and urged that all members of organized labor do likewise. Moreover, we unreservedly endorse the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in all of their actions in connection with the war and all other labor men in accepting positions of trust upon boards, commissions and committees, and declare that in their so doing the best interests of organized labor have been advanced, safeguarded and protected.

Your committee has given most careful consideration to all of the matter contained under the caption "Labor and the War." The incorporation of the President's address to Congress was an advisable addition to the official records of this convention. It was, also, most appropriate to incorporate "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War," adopted in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917. Your committee desires to express its well-considered approval of the soldiers' and sailors' compensation legislation. With the assistance of the Executive Council, protective insurance was established for our soldiers and sailors and their dependents; more thoroughgoing in its provisions and more protective of the interests of those who are going to bear the heat of battle than has been enacted in any other country.

Through the Executive Council's efforts and under its guidance, a governmental insurance feature has been established upon a fundamentally sound basis, and in harmony with the position of the American trade union movement relative to the protection of those whose labor and whose lives contribute to the welfare and defense of our nation. Your committee desires to congratulate the Executive Council upon the marked progress which it made in securing labor representation upon the several governmental commissions and committees created in connection with the nation's participation in the war. Although we have just begun to take up the industrial problems created by the war, the labor representatives have, to a marked degree, proved not only the necessity for their participation, but the added efficiency which they have contributed. Their intimate knowledge of the human factors which had to be considered and applied, and their practical acquaintance with the problems existing in industry proved of the greatest value in contributing to the solution of many grave problems which have already been adjusted. Many grave industrial situations, with their threatening aspect to the nation's welfare, have been solved through their efforts.

It has become apparent that the nation's resources must be called upon to the utmost degree for the nation's protection, and that a steadily increasing demand for the production of war materials must exist for some time, calling upon the greatest effort which the manpower and genius of our country can put forth. The burdens devolving upon the government's commissions and committees must continue to grow, their responsibilities to increase and their activities to become more far-reaching. It is essential that as these governmental activities increase, there should be an adequate representation of responsible members of the trade union movement to assist and advise and assume a full share of the duties and the responsibilities which devolve upon those who are to have the directing authority. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to present to the President of the

United States the urgent necessity for the appointment of additional representatives of the trade union movement upon the existing commissions and committees, and upon those which may be appointed in the future, so that the trade union movement can give its fullest degree of cooperation to the government in the successful prosecution of the activities required to win the great cause in which we are now involved.

INTER-ALLIED CONFERENCE LEAGUE

Report of the American Federation of Labor delegates to the Inter-Allied Conference League held in England, September 10, 1917, to the Buffalo Convention November, 1917:

On Monday morning, September 10, 1917, the Inter-Allied Conference League, representing the labor movement of France, Italy, Belgium, Canada, America, Serbia and Great Britain, opened. Mr. James O'Grady, M. P., presided, and in his introductory speech he went over the situation since the war began and as it now exists. In a masterly address he pointed out that this must be a business conference and must deal with all questions, whether industrial or political, that directly or indirectly affect the lives of the trade union organizations and their membership. We quote from his speech as follows:

"From the commencement of the war the General Federation of Trade Unions has taken up a very strong attitude on this matter, and, in spite of representations made to us by the French, we still maintain the position which we took up when war broke out. All through we have been against any meeting of the international trade union movement which included enemy countries until the armies of the central powers were back behind their own frontiers. We do not take up that attitude because we have any deep-rooted animosity to the German people as a people, but on the one side you have the entente powers governed by democratic principles; on the other side you have the central powers governed by autocratic principles. Until these autocratic principles are destroyed forever by the people of the central powers, or until the people make a real attempt to destroy them, it is our opinion that a meeting between the two sides, at all events for the moment, is utterly impracticable and impossible.

"One of the questions that will be discussed at this conference is the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin to a town in a neutral country. Let there be no mistake about the position which has obtained for the last fourteen years. If I know the feeling of the trade unionists of the entente powers it is that never again are we going to allow the German trade union movement to dominate the international movement as it has done. Each country ought to stand upon its dignity. If it is a question of money, then we should be prepared to share the cost. If it is a question of work and organization, then each country should be prepared to play its part. Only on that foundation can we, in the future, prevent the trade union movement in Germany retaining the International Secretariat at Berlin and dominating the whole international.

"I think I speak for the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions when I say that our one-time German comrades have lost the confidence of the British trade union movement. As far as we have been able to gather, the German trade union movement has never yet taken a step to protest against what has been done by their own Government in the countries which have been invaded by the central powers. We know that the Belgian and the Serbian trade union movements have been almost wiped off the face

of the earth by the Germans. I do not complain about that, because it may be an act of war, but what I do complain about is that the German trade union movement and the International Secretariat (of which the Serbian and Belgian trade unionists are a part) have never raised a voice of protest. It is a most extraordinary thing to me that while the German trade unionists claim to be democrats and socialists, yet the only autocratic powers in the world today are the central powers, and the Governments of Germany and Austria are backed to a man by the trade union movement of their respective countries. There can be no liberty for the trade union movement in the event of inconclusive peace or a victory for the arms of the central powers.

"The war has been a terrible tragedy to every movement in the world. I speak for the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions when I say that we believe that only when the German military machine is smashed beyond all possibility of repair will it be possible for free men, free peoples and free nations to breathe the atmosphere of liberty. Until that is done the existence, the life and the well being of our trade union movement hangs in the balance. And so our money, our influence, our industrial and political power shall be used to assure that the great democratic movement of the world shall not be called upon by men or by governments to undergo the hell of torture, suffering and sacrifice that it has undergone during the last three years."

Secretary Appleton explained the reasons for the calling of this conference at this particular time, going into detail regarding the international situation, and explaining the present affiliation of the International.

The labor movements of the following countries are at present affiliated: Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Spain, Austria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Switzerland, Italy, United States of America.

The General Federation's Attitude Toward Conferences with Belligerent Nations.

The following statement of the attitude of the General Federation of Trade Unions to conferences with belligerent nations was then submitted by Secretary Appleton and translated to the Continental delegates:

"The General Federation of Trade Unions has never deviated from its attitude toward the origin and enemy conduct of the war and toward the various proposals for peace conferences which, during the last three years, have emanated from different groups in different countries.

"It has held throughout that no such conference, including representatives of enemy countries, could meet without discussing, in the spirit of recrimination, the origin of the war and the unusual brutalities perpetrated in Belgium, France and Serbia. Obviously such discussions would embitter rather than relieve the situation in which International Trade Unionism found itself.

"The General Federation has consistently opposed any attempt to exclude, even by inference, the trade union movements of the colonies from conferences and discussions. It has held also that the entry of the United States of America into the struggle against the Central Powers introduced new factors and placed new responsibilities upon the trade union movements, both in Great Britain and her colonies. The incoming of America emphasized the moral factors operating against the Germanic powers, and established her right to participate in any conference called to consider programmes or to determine peace terms.

"Further than this, the Management Committee has always been

alive to the fact that all the nations engaged in the war will determine to discuss peace terms from the national rather than from the party point of view, and that the partisan, pressing his own ideas to the exclusion of all others, might do much to retard peace, and might even help to bring about the defeat of those countries where democracy is a factor rather than a name. Such a result would not help democracy, but might easily involve the destruction of institutions and cultures which, by comparison with Germany, are liberal and free.

"Least of all has the Federation desired to hamper Russia in her efforts at regeneration. Neither foreign bayonets, nor foreign panaceas, nor fruitless discussions, nor fulsome compliments can establish higher standards of conduct, of happiness, or of liberty in this unhappy land. Sympathy she needs, sympathy she has, but her salvation can only be won by her own brain and blood, and ordered effort. To encourage contrary assumptions is to do Russia a great dis-service. Unpleasant as it undoubtedly is, the truth may awaken and save Russia, but she must awaken soon if she is to escape the reimposition of an autocratic regime. From the Romanoff to the Hohenzollern will not be a satisfactory ending of the revolution.

"It has been held that general conferences of the workers of belligerent nations should be held because the Russian Government desired them. This contention is disputed, but if it were true, it should not be accepted merely because it has been advanced. American, British, French and Italian democracies possess that intelligence and experience which justifies them in determining their own action and they would not necessarily be either unkind or unwise in declining to accept the determinations of people pre-occupied with revolution and compelled to make many doubtful experiments in the business of governing a nation.

"The Management Committee has difficulty in understanding the value of general conferences before the representatives of allied countries are agreed upon the objectives of such conferences or without being sure of the possibilities or the conditions of German participation. Even today the only specific terms of peace that have been stated are those emanating from the allied countries. Germany has hitherto dealt in generalities and has measured her demands by the extent of European territory she has been able to occupy. She has offered no definite statements concerning evacuation, restitution and reparation. If members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany were permitted to attend at a general conference, they possess no power, nor is there any proof that they possess the inclination to discuss terms of peace other than those outlined by their Government. Even if they did discuss less onerous conditions, they are powerless to enforce either in their own Parliament or in their own country any conclusions reached by any general conference.

"The confusion which exists concerning international conferences is both lamentable and expensive. Recently we have had Russia demanding a mandatory conference, Great Britain insisting that it should be consultative only, France insisting upon the discussion of the origin of the war, while Germany declines to attend any conference which makes the origin and conduct of the war a serious point of discussion. The formula, 'No indemnities and no annexations,' needs definition and explanation before it can be discussed seriously. It ignores the point of view of the self-governing colonies, and its adoption by Britain would immediately antagonize Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. All the friends of Germany know this, and to involve Britain in conflict with her colonies would be for them a diplomatic triumph of the first magnitude.

"It is obvious that general conferences of belligerents must be preceded by general understanding amongst the Allies, and that these conferences must take cognizance of all the facts affecting the unofficial but effective Anglo-Saxon confederation.

"An attempt to reach a general understanding of the trade unionists affiliated to the International Secretariat was made at Leeds in July, 1916. The conclusions then reached have been adopted even by the belligerent nations, and they offer the most reasonable basis for further trade union effort.

"In opposing the various proposals for conferences to be held in Stockholm and in Berne, the Federation has been actuated by the sincerest desire to avoid embittering a deplorable situation. Neither hostility to other organizations nor desire to continue war for war's own sake, has influenced its decisions or colored its publications. It has, without thought of advantage or disadvantage to its own present or future, taken the facts of the situation as they appear, analyzed them and corrected its impressions by the experiences gained during its fifteen years' official association with the international trade union movement. Its conclusions have been given to its members and events have hitherto justified its foresight and its action and saved both the money and the reputations of its members. Up to the present it sees no reason to depart from the policy it has consistently pursued during the war.

"(Signed)

MR. J. O'GRADY, J. P., M. P.

(Chairman) Furnishing Trades Association.

MR. JOSEPH CROSS, J. P.,

(Vice-Chairman) Northern Counties Weavers.

COL. JOHN WARD, J. P., M. P.,

(Treasurer) Navvies, Builders, and General Laborers.

MR. JAS. CRINION, J. P.,

(Trustee) Amalgamated Card and Blowing Room Operatives.

MR. ALLEN GEE, J. P.,

(Trustee) Yorkshire Textile Workers.

COUNCILLOR ALEXANDER WILKIE, J. P., M. P.,

(Trustee) Associated Shipwrights.

MR. J. N. BELL, J. P.,

National Amalgamated Union of Labor.

MR. F. BIRCHENOUGH, J. P.,

Amalgamated Cotton Spinners.

MR. BEN COOPER,

Cigar Makers' Mutual Association.

COUNCILLOR IVOR H. GWYNNE, J. P.,

Tin and Sheet Millmen.

MR. BEN TILLET,

Dock, Wharf and Riverside Workers.

COUNCILLOR T. MALLALIEU,

Amalgamated Felt Hatters' Union.

COUNCILLOR ALF. SHORT,

Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.

MR. T. F. RICHARDS,

Boot and Shoe Operatives.

MR. JOHN TAYLOR, J. P.,

Midland Counties Federation.

"W. A. APPLETON, *Secretary.*"

AGENDA

1

Declaration of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, as per attached circular.

2

Resolution No. 1

"That the National Centers of the countries, together with different National Federations affiliated to the International Trade Union Secretariat, confirm the resolution already adopted in 1915 by the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, the American Federation of Labor, and the Confederation Generale du Travail, to press for and to obtain the transfer of the Secretariat of International Trade Unionism to a neutral country; the administrative work of the Secretariat being assured and controlled by an executive representative of each country affiliated. The Conference decides that this measure is rendered necessary by the war, and that its consummation is in the highest and future interests of the world's workers."

Resolution No. 2

"The Conference considers that the finish of hostilities will reveal an accumulation of new rights of workers; it demands that social progress shall be effective and international, and fully realize conclusion that 'the worker is a citizen of the world.' It demands that the workers in every country endeavor by similar and concerted action to compel the acceptance, by the governments of the Entente, of the workers' program, adopted in Leeds in 1916, and it declares that this program must be inserted—as the workers' charter—in the future treaty of peace. The Conference asks that the workers in every country will concentrate upon the same measures and aim at the same goals.

"The Conferences desiring that on all great questions affecting the future of the world's workers, all necessary measures should be taken to secure understanding and concerted action, instructs the Bureau of Correspondence to make translations of, and in all languages, to comment upon, the resolutions adopted at the Conference, and at the same time to follow and note all the efforts and successes that become operative in each country."

3

WAR AIMS

Points to Be Discussed

1. That peace must result in the abolition of all militarism, not only in Germany, but in all other countries.
2. That there shall be suppression of all secret diplomacy in the relationship between peoples; democratic principles must tomorrow rule national and international relationships, and the people must have exact knowledge of the responsibilities and engagements made in their name.
3. That there shall be complete restoration of liberty and independence to all the nationalities violated and oppressed.
4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.
5. That in the future there shall be freedom of trade traffic and commerce.
6. In order to perpetuate a state of peace the Conference demands the

organization of an International, having as its basic principle equality of right for all nations great and small.

7. To enforce the assent of nations to these principles and to assure the continuance of peace it is indispensable that there shall, at the end of hostilities, be constituted a "League of Nations," instead of any division of the people into two federations distinct and hostile.

8. The Constitution of the "League of Nations" or of the "United States of the World" must be completed by the institution of "Compulsory Arbitration" and the provision for means of settling pacifically all international conflicts. Each state must have the right of appeal the tribunal sets up, and each state must be under obligation to submit to its decisions.

9. The Conference declares in favor of a limitation of armaments, not as an effort to secure equilibrium, but as a measure precedent to general international disarmament.

10. Declares that all these necessary measures cannot be secured unless the workers of every country unite in a workers' international and seek to realize and secure their aims in a truly international spirit.

11. In the spirit of the aforesaid propositions, the Conference, following the declaration of President Wilson "that peace must mark the advent of the society of nations," declares that all the efforts of workers in democratic countries must themselves strive for that principle of the society of nations which has already been partly realized, and press for the creation of treaties between the countries of the Entente, which must include clauses ensuring that all conflicts arising between any signatories shall be dealt with by the international tribunal representative of all the contracting nations.

4

Democratic Representation on Peace Commissions

"The Conference places on record its appreciation of the sacrifices made and the losses endured by the working men and women of all the Entente countries. It considers that these sacrifices and losses have purchased right to direct representation from every country on any commission which meets to discuss or determine terms and conditions of peace, and it instructs the Federation of each Entente country to press upon their governments the necessity of an immediate acceptance of this request."

The Serbian Outlook

M. Novakovitch (a Serbian delegate), said that, of course, he was a champion of trade unionism, but he looked upon it as part of the Socialist movement. The object of all of their efforts was Socialism, and Socialism would be helped forward by the trade union organizations. The Chairman had said that the Conference was not a political but an economic gathering. He would have them bear in mind that so far as the Balkan Peninsula was concerned the political situation was far and away more important and urgent than the economic situation. However, he would endeavor to conform with the spirit of the gathering, and as far as the restricted scope of the subject would allow he would speak mainly from the trade union point of view. The movement in Serbia began to considerably develop after 1903. By that time the system of government had become more democratic, but the working classes of Serbia, insofar as they could take any action at all, had to concentrate on acquiring the necessary liberty to form trade unions and to take a share in the economic development of the country. A very great struggle was the consequence of their attempt to form trade unions, but they had succeeded, and succeeded in a large measure. Before the war there were something like 40,000 trade unionists in

Serbia, and it should be remembered that there was hardly a large factory or mill in Serbia. The nearest approach to industrialism, such as obtained in Great Britain, was supplied by the railways, which were run on much the same lines as in other countries while transport work was also done on a large scale. But the enormous proportion of the things used in Serbia, such as clothes, for instance, were made by hand. The handicraft system still prevailed, and the people made for themselves practically the whole of what they wanted. They would see, therefore, that there was not the scope for trade unionism in Serbia that there was in other countries, but he wanted to call their attention to the fact that they had a labor newspaper, which had a sale of 7,000 copies. The capitalists were also associated, and they also had a newspaper, but its sale was never anything like 7,000.

Trade unionism in Serbia had been able to exert an influence on the legislature. They had been working for ten years and had obtained a ten-hour day by law. They had also obtained the abolition of night work for women and the abolition of child labor up to the age of 14 years. They had not yet obtained compulsory insurance against accidents.

At the present moment the question of legislation and progress seemed almost too sad for words. For whom was it proposed to legislate? Of the 40,000 trade unionists probably not more than 12,000 were now alive. The country had been destroyed; most of the men were killed. What could they do now in the way of forming trade unions or anything else? All they could do was to say that they were looking for help and sustenance to their fellow workers of the allied countries. They were not appealing for charity from the capitalists. They wanted to raise themselves up again as a nation of working-men laboring in their own little country in intimate harmony with the workers of other countries. They felt that the peace of the future depended upon economic unity as well as political unity. The workers of Serbia must unite economically with the working-class organizations of other countries. There was a great political danger in leaving little countries alone and unprotected to be a bait to the aggressor. Let them beware that they did not leave the Balkan door wide open so that another war could come breaking through. Let them close the door by uniting the peoples in the love of liberty, in the cause of democracy, and the peace of the world.

Mr. Jouhaux (France) then moved the adoption of Section 1 of the Agenda, which reads:

That the National Centres of the countries, together with different National Federations affiliated to the International Trade Union Secretariat, confirm the resolution already adopted in 1915 by the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, the American Federation of Labor, and the Confederation Generale du Travail, to press for and to obtain the transfer of the Secretariat of International Trade Unionism to a neutral country; the administrative work of the Secretariat being assured and controlled by an executive representative of each country affiliated. The Conference decides that this measure is rendered necessary by the war, and that its consummation is in the highest and future interests of the world's workers.

This matter was under discussion at adjournment.

On Tuesday, September 11th, the discussion on Section 1 was resumed. Delegate Jouhaux (France), Havelock Wilson (Britain), Brownlie (Britain) and Golden (America) discussed the question and it was unanimously adopted, with the understanding that there were now no neutral countries, agreement being had on the necessity of removing of the Secretariat from Germany.

Mr. Jouhaux then moved the following resolution:

That an International Conference shall be held at Berne to decide

the removal from Berlin of the International Secretariat, the Conference to be representative of the belligerent and neutral countries affiliated to the International Federation.

This aroused a lively discussion. Delegates Crinion (Britain), Lord and Golden (America), Novakovitch (Serbia), Jouhaux (France), Ben Cooper (Britain), Havelock Wilson (Britain), Alex Wilkie (Britain), Lequet (France) and Mallalieu (Britain) taking part.

The idea of the French delegation was to meet the Germans face to face, not for an international meeting as generally understood, but to impeach and indict the Germans. The futility of this idea became more and more apparent as the discussion went on. We quote from Mr. Tom Shaw's (Britain) speech the following:

"I think there is a possibility of finding a way out of the difficulty. I want to say a few words on the absolute necessity of taking the bureau away from Berlin. It is evidently impossible for any of the belligerent countries to act in such a way as to be able to hold the balance equally between their own countries and the countries of the opposing powers. Assuming that we had the bureau in one of the belligerent countries, and that belligerent country and the Central Committee happened to come to a decision which was apparently unfavorable to that country, the censor would at once stop the sending out of the country of any of the documents. An allied country could do no more than an enemy country, and we cannot carry on the business unless we have a guarantee that the scales will be held as evenly as it is possible to hold them in existing circumstances. The problem then comes as to the place in which the Secretariat shall be established. The English movement is very keenly divided on the question of meeting the Germans until the Germans have been taught that they can be beaten at their own game, but no one even in this country has suggested that the international should once and for all be broken. We have always worked for the maintenance of an international that will be more effective than ever after the war by virtue of the fact that it has seen its past mistakes. The only question that does divide us is as to whether in order to get the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin, it is necessary to meet the representatives of the central powers in conference. I suggest that we could meet each others' wishes quite easily and without the trouble, the expense and probably the turmoil of an International Conference of all. Why should not the labor movements of the allied powers draw up a document stating specifically the grounds on which it is desirable that the bureau should be transferred from Berlin? That document could be translated, and the Swiss could be asked to circulate it. The Germans could have a statement sent with it if they liked, and the various countries could be asked to vote by post on the question as to whether the Secretariat should be removed from Berlin. If the transference is decided on we shall then be at liberty to take steps for the re-establishment of the bureau in a manner as much above suspicion as anything can be in the present state of affairs. It is absolutely essential that the International Secretariat should come out of Germany.

"Everyone who has taken an interest in the international will agree that the most prominent men are Legien, Baumeister (Legien's assistant and handyman), Sassenbach, Yochade (the leader of the German transport workers) and Hue (the leader of the German miners). Those five men are known all over the world as the leading representatives of the German International movement. Take Legien.

Less than twelve months ago he signed a manifesto issued by Batocki (the German food controller), which asked the German people to fight on until a German peace was secured. That German peace meant annexations and indemnities. It is impossible that that man should act as Secretary of any international movement that will have the confidence of the allies. Baumeister went to Berne and issued an international news letter. Sassenbach wrote articles putting the German position. It is impossible to rely on two men like that keeping the scales even. The transport workers' leader is in just the same frame of mind as the others, and has subscribed to the doctrine of military necessity. He is one of the men around Legien, and acts with him. The miners' representative is apparently of the same opinion, so that when you get five leading men like that at the head of the bureau in Berlin it is impossible for us to accept that bureau or its advice as being in any way fair and equitable. We must have the bureau taken away from Berlin. Why go to the expense, the trouble, the turmoil and the difficulty of calling a conference when we can place such a case before every country in the world that there can be no danger of a hostile vote going against the transference of the bureau? A discussion can take place on the question as to which country the International Secretariat should be transferred, and once it is definitely established, then it will be for the country in which it is located to send out circulars, to send out invitations to the nations, and the nations could decide whether to accept those invitations and the terms on which they should be accepted or whether the invitations should be refused absolutely. That is an infinitely better way than going to a conference simply to discuss and decide a question that can be discussed and decided by post on the initiative of the Swiss. We should get into working order without any friction, and possibly with good results to the whole international movement."

Mr. Shaw then proposed the following as a substitute:

That the views of the countries affiliated to the International Federation be obtained in respect to the removal of the International Bureau from Berlin to some neutral country, these views to be obtained by post, and the Swiss Federation to be requested to undertake this work. In the meantime, the representatives of the allied countries shall draft a manifesto giving reasons for the removal of the bureau, this manifesto to be transmitted to all countries affiliated, and the result of the vote to be returned to the Swiss Federation, which is to be requested to make known the determination to all belligerent and neutral countries within the organization of the International Federation. Further, if the result be in favor of the removal of the bureau, the Federation be requested to take the necessary steps to set up the office of the bureau in a country subsequently to be decided on by the vote of the nations.

The substitute resolution was adopted, the French not opposing it, but declaring that they would attend the Berne conference without committing any of the affiliated movements in any way. Your delegates took the position throughout the discussion that there were no neutral countries now, and this was the feeling of the conference.

Delegate Jouhaux then moved the adoption of Section 2 of the Agenda, which reads:

"The Conference considers that the finish of hostilities will reveal an accumulation of new rights of workers; it demands that social progress shall be effective and international, and fully realize conclusion

that 'the worker is a citizen of the world.' It demands that the workers in every country endeavor by similar and concerted action to compel the acceptance, by the governments of the entente, of the workers' program, adopted in Leeds in 1916, and it declares that this program must be inserted—as the workers' charter—in the future treaty of peace. The Conference asks that the workers in every country will concentrate upon the same measures and aim at the same goals.

"The Conference, desiring that on all great questions affecting the future of the world's workers, all necessary measures should be taken to secure understanding and concerted action, instructs the Bureau of Correspondence to make translations of, and in all languages, to comment upon, the resolutions adopted at the Conference, and at the same time to follow and note all the efforts and successes that become operative in each country."

This was discussed by Delegates Lord (America), Golden (America), Keufer (France), Appleton (Britain) and Jouhaux (France), and was unanimously adopted.

Section 3, dealing with war aims, was then considered. This section is quite extensive and, on account of the variety of subjects involved, is divided into eleven paragraphs, which read as follows:

1. That peace must result in the abolition of all militarism, not only in Germany, but in all other countries.
2. That there shall be suppression of all secret diplomacy in the relationship between peoples; democratic principles must tomorrow rule national and international relationships, and the people must have exact knowledge of the responsibilities and engagements made in their name.
3. That there shall be complete restoration of liberty and independence to all the nationalities violated and oppressed.
4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.
5. That in the future there shall be freedom of trade traffic and commerce.
6. In order to perpetuate a state of peace the Conference demands the organization of an international having as its basic principle equality of right for all nations, great and small.
7. To enforce the assent of nations to these principles and, to assure the continuance of peace it is indispensable that there shall at the end of hostilities be constituted a "League of Nations," instead of any division of the people into two federations distinct and hostile.
8. The Constitution of the "League of Nations" or of the "United States of the World" must be completed by the institution of "compulsory arbitration" and the provision for means of settling pacifically all international conflicts. Each State must have the right of appeal the tribunal sets up, and each State must be under obligation to submit to its decisions.
9. The Conference declares in favor of a limitation of armaments, not as an effort to secure equilibrium, but as a measure precedent to general international disarmament.
10. Declares that all these necessary measures cannot be secured unless the workers of every country unite in a workers' international and seek to realize and secure their aims in a truly international spirit.
11. In the spirit of the aforesaid propositions, the Conference, following the declaration of President Wilson "that peace must mark the advent of the society of nations," declares that all the efforts of workers in democratic countries must themselves strive for that prin-

ciple of the society of nations which has already been partly realized, and press for the creation of treaties between the countries of the entente, which must include clauses insuring that all conflicts arising between any signatories shall be dealt with by an international tribunal representative of all the contracting nations.

Delegates Jouhaux (France), Cross (Britain), Brownlie (Britain), Short (Britain), Lord (America), Golden (America), Novakovitch (Serbia) and Shaw (Britain) discussed the section in its entirety, and there was general unanimity with the exception of paragraph four, which reads:

4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.

It was feared that as this paragraph was written it would be subject to misinterpretation throughout the world, and finally the Conference decided to refer this paragraph to a committee consisting of Mr. Appleton, M. Jouhaux, M. Novakovitch and one of the American delegates so they could re-draft it in language that would be less likely for misinterpretation. The section was then unanimously adopted.

Section 4 was then taken up for discussion. This is practically a re-draft of the proposition of the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and was unanimously adopted.

The conference then adjourned.

We feel that an inestimable amount of good has resulted from this conference, the free and candid discussion on the important matters by which it was confronted, the unanimity which was finally reached and the splendid feeling of co-operation and brotherhood which was manifest. America, as a nation involved in the allied cause, is too big and important, and the American Federation of Labor too decided a factor in the realm of national and international democracy, that we can afford to be absent from any of these meetings, and we sincerely hope and believe, and we pledged ourselves in so far as we could do so, that in all international councils held hereafter, the voice and influence of the American Federation of Labor should be heard and felt.

We attended the council meeting of the General Federation of Trade Unions, also the joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee and the Labor Party. At this meeting the question of securing a working agreement as to peace and war aims of the allied nations was discussed, and a joint committee was appointed for that purpose.

This meeting also took up for consideration the question of electoral reform, and the following was agreed to:

That the Joint Meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party views with the gravest apprehension the intention expressed in various quarters of getting the operation of the franchise bill suspended until some other measure (such as the suggested reform of the House of Lords) has been carried into law.

That this meeting emphatically protests against any delay in bringing into operation a long-delayed and much overdue democratic reform which has now become a matter of compromise among all sections of opinion represented in the speakers' conference.

That in view of the advanced stage to which the bill has attained in the House of Commons, this meeting expresses the opinion that any attempt to hold a general election upon the present obsolete register would amount to a national scandal; and that the bill ought accordingly to be as promptly as possible passed into law and put immediately into operation, so that the new electoral roll may be made up in the first half

of the ensuing year, and this meeting directs that steps be taken to ask the Prime Minister to receive a deputation on the subject, the question of holding a national conference being for the present deferred.

We were invited to accompany the representatives of this joint meeting to meet with Premier Lloyd George at the Cabinet Chamber, and we were much impressed by the thoroughly democratic manner in which he received us. When he was informed that we were the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, he came around the table to us, expressed his pleasure in meeting us and very emphatically said, "We must have Mr. Gompers over here. We want him." If there have been any restrictions on expression or activities of men on Downing Street in the past, it is non-existent now, and these men, representing the workers of Britain, were just as much at home, were just as outspoken as they could possibly have been in their own council chambers.

The matter of the pending legislation was thoroughly discussed by the committee and the Premier, and Mr. Lloyd George assured them that no obstacles would be raised by the Government in connection with this matter, and the Government would stand by its original pledges or promises. Our observation of Premier Lloyd George, the man in whom is vested at this particular time more real power than possibly any other human being, is that he is a thorough democrat, and that he will be found working just as diligently and untiringly after the war in establishing the principles of democracy on an enduring basis as he is now working untiringly in the campaign of smashing the most brutal autocracy the world has ever seen. The British trade union movement is a real force in both the directing of the war and of the Government. They have been tested and found not wanting.

Conclusion

We regret that we were unable, on account of lack of time, to get in closer touch with the rank and file and the public at large, and especially the two great divisions of the workers in which we were most directly connected—the miners and the textile workers. We regret that for the same reasons we were unable to get into direct communication with the French workers and public. We were nineteen days on the ship going, were ashore in Britain only a month, and were in session the greater part of the time. We had numerous invitations to address public meetings in Britain, and were urgently requested by Jouhaux to go to France for similar meetings. Time would not permit, and when arrangements were made by which we could have gone to France and the western front, we were notified that our ship was likely to sail any day. There is no such thing as schedule on the high seas in these times, and we were compelled to forego any arrangements for further speaking. We did, however, attend a meeting in Manchester of the textile workers, both conflicting branches being present, and, largely through the reasoning and advice of Brother Golden, the beginning of a unity movement was inaugurated, which will in all likelihood bring all the textile workers back into one movement again.

The people of Britain and France are war-weary, but the determination is everywhere to go on to the finish. The general spirit prevailing is something that cannot be adequately described. There is no spirit of surrender manifest anywhere. They do not cheer or get excited. When asked about a son, brother or father, they have invariably one or two replies—"He has joined up" or "He has gone under." They will fight on in this spirit until victory is achieved for the allies.

One of the most tragic stories ever human being listened to was the statement of the delegate from Serbia, where out of an array of 40,000 trade unionists not more than 12,000 were now alive. But not a suspicion of despair from him. Jouhaux has had, and now has a giant's task, and he is well equipped for the

job. The Confederation du Travail was several years ago captured by syndicalism, the most alluring philosophy ever the untried or inexperienced workers listened to. Herve and others fired the passions and souls of the French workers by their exposition of this, to them, wonderful new economic doctrine. The fact that Herve and others lived to revise their judgment and Herve was courageous enough to issue a statement to all the world acknowledging his mistakes, did not undo the mischief. Jouhaux is a wonderfully able man, a real orator and a sound thinker, and he is gradually shaping the French labor movement into a real, militant, enduring institution, not by simply attacking syndicalism as such, but by inculcating sound thoughts, ideas and tactics into the minds of the workers. But the German troops have occupied and are occupying some of France's richest industrial districts, and many of the best and ablest of France's trade unionists, both leaders and of the rank and file, have made the supreme sacrifice.

Jouhaux and his colleagues are, in spite of all these things, holding the economic movement intact, and giving all that is in them, mentally and physically, that the efforts and achievements of the workers of France shall be held intact now, and that they be in the best possible position to assume the gigantic task that will devolve on them when the war is ended. It was a keen disappointment to Mr. Jouhaux that time would not permit our going to France to help and advise with him and his colleagues.

The trade union movement of Britain is holding its own and making some real advances in war time. Where established conditions have been surrendered on the altar of necessity, they have surrounded them with proper guarantees and safeguards. They have increased their membership more during the period of war than ever before in their history, reporting more than 3,000,000 members in good standing at the Blackpool Congress. Excepting the few "Leninists" and sentimentalists, there is no spirit of pacifism prevalent. They would welcome peace, but not the ominous calm that precedes another storm, and they know that there can be no assurance of peace in the world, no faith or respect for pledges or treaties until the Prussian military machine is smashed beyond any possibility of repair. Women have invaded the industrial arena in large numbers, are to a large extent operating the street railways, busses, taxicabs, are working in the machine shops, as teamsters, etc., and are voluntarily joining their respective unions, the unions generally establishing the same rate of wages for the women workers as men get for the same class of work. There are some exceptions, sometimes among the workers themselves, but generally the same rate per hour is paid.

We can say without boasting, that the American Federation of Labor is regarded by the workers of the allied countries as one of the biggest, most trenchant influences in this gigantic struggle, and as a powerful influence in the after-war settlement that it is hoped will see the advent of the "society of nations." We here want to call attention again to the necessity, not alone for the maintenance of our ideals abroad, but for ourselves here, of the American labor movement being represented at allied conferences, whether held here, or on the other side. They are all looking on us as the big, strong, wise brother, and we have as much at stake, are as much interested in moving the procession of national and international democracy ahead, as they are.

The general sentiment regarding Russia is tolerant, sympathetic and hopeful. They make due allowance for the mistakes of the Russian people and do not lose sight of the fact that no set of the world's workers have been more suppressed, inarticulate, or denied the opportunity of learning through actual practice. They also understand the tremendous, insidious propaganda of Germany as it has been, and is, carried on there and throughout the world. They believe that the Russian worker, once he understands, will make just as great

sacrifices for his principles and ideals, and just as quickly as anyone in the world. The feeling is that Russia will clean up the internal situation, get rid of this accursed propaganda, and stay in the fight to a finish.

We want to extend to the A. F. of L. our appreciation of the great trust reposed in us, and the honor of representing our great movement, at this, the most critical time in the world's history. We have, to the best of our ability and opportunity, portrayed the situation as we found it.

We are reassured from what we have seen and experienced, that, no matter what the cost, in torture, suffering or death, the armies and the peoples of the allied countries are going on to a victorious conclusion; a victory that will mean the beginning of the end of oligarchy, autocracy, militarism, denial or prostitution of constitutional government the world over, and will mean the general moving up of the spirit of democracy in all lands, not excepting our own United States. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the world's workers are still internationalists, and when this holocaust is ended the workers on both sides of the trenches will again clasp hands and unite energies in a greater, more virile and representative international than has yet existed.

We have seen men maimed in every conceivable way, the blind men, the "gassed" men, the shell-shocked men; we have seen the women and children huddling in the cellars, basements and subways, night after night, during the air raids; we have seen the stamp and effect of this brutal war in ways and manner too various for description, and wherever we have gone, whosoever we have talked with, we have found the star of hope still shining, and the general belief that the people who have been forced into war will hold fast to their ideals, that the sacrifices will not have been in vain, and when it is all ended the gates of opportunity, of greater liberties, greater lives, and enduring democracy will be opened throughout the world for all the children of men.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN GOLDEN,
JAMES LORD,
Fraternal Delegates.

International Relations in 1918

Report of the Executive Council to St. Paul convention, June, 1918

Since our report to the Buffalo Convention discussion of Labor's international relations has focused around three subjects:

1. Proposals to hold international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.

In continuation of the discussion of matters of mutual interest at several previous Inter-Allied Labor Conferences, British Labor in January sent invitations to the labor movements of the allied countries to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to be held in London commencing February 20, 1918. The following is the invitation:

LONDON, 16th January, 1918.

DEAR GOMPERS: On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the National Executive of the Labour Party I have the pleasure to send you herewith particulars as to the conditions under which we are calling an Inter-Allied Conference to commence in London on 20th February, 1918.

We trust it will be possible for the American Federation of Labour to be represented; for in addition to considering the British War Aims and any amendments thereto sent in on behalf of the respective countries, there is to be considered the very important question as to whether the time has arrived when we should hold an International Conference.

A third most important question will be the arrangements to be made for working class representation in connection with any official peace conference. Even if your Federation does not quite agree with the two committees responsible for organizing the Inter-Allied Conference, it would be desirable that your representatives, and especially yourself, were present to put the American point of view.

We have had a request from the American Socialists, but the two committees have decided that your Federation was the only body to be invited to this conference to represent America. I shall esteem it a favour, therefore, if you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and let me know as early as possible any decision you may reach.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

This invitation reached the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late February 9. The Executive Council was beginning its regular meeting on the following day, it was then too late to send a representative to be in time to attend the London conference, February 20. On February 11, the Council considered the invitation and authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to send a cablegram expressing regret that owing to lack

of time it was impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Conference. In accord with that action the following cablegram was sent:

WASHINGTON, *February 18, 1918.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your January sixteen letter reached me late Saturday, February nine, and brought to attention Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in session on eleventh. We regret that circumstances make impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, February twentieth.

Executive Council in declaration unanimously declared, "We can not meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent Labor in America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France.

Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our man-power and at least half we have in wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

GOMPERS.

It will be observed that in Mr. Henderson's letter he stated that our Federation was to be the only body to be invited to the conference to represent America. Information had come to us that a group of persons had decided to send one or more representatives to attend the Inter-Allied Labor Conference at London February 20th, and it was for that reason that reference was made in President Gompers' cablegram to the fact that anyone presuming to represent Labor of America would be simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

In addition, there was included in the cablegram sent to Mr. Henderson a statement that a representative from the A. F. of L. would not participate in any discussion or any conference in which representatives of enemy countries sat in. It was believed that this fact should be emphasized at that particular time by reason of the declarations of the A. F. of L. upon this point and for the further reason that there were some who in our judgment mistakenly or wrongfully urged such participation. When the war is won, the question of participation, in a labor conference in which the representatives of *all* countries participate, can be decided.

Upon the day that the cablegram was sent it was given out in Washington for publication. Some representatives of the press in New York cabled the message over to British papers. On the day of the opening of the London conference British papers published a garbled cablegram purporting to be sent by the President of the A. F. of L., in which the following sentence had been injected: "American labor believes German influences have inspired the London conference and until this is disproved will avoid the conference."

When the falsehood came to the attention of the Allied Labor Conference in London, the conference directed its Publicity Committee to publish the text of the cablegram as received from President Gompers, and also sent the following cablegram to him:

LONDON, *February 25, 1918.*

GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

Press in this country circulating statement, your alleged authority, that American labour believes German influences inspire the London conference. Nothing appears your telegram to us. We feel sure you will resent gross falsification your message. Apparently part of campaign malicious misrepresentation on part enemies of labour. Trust you will dissociate your federation from statement which is wholly untrue.

ALBERT THOMAS, *President.*
ARTHUR E. HENDERSON, *Secy.*

Owing to important official engagements which necessitated absence from Washington, and to official duties that could not be deferred, reply to the telegram could not be made immediately, and in any event it would not be sent or received during the sessions of the conference, for it had already adjourned. However, the following cable reply was made:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 13, 1918.*

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your letter January sixteen inviting delegation American Federation of Labor participate in London conference February twenty, reached me February nine. Authority to designate delegates of the American labor movement vested in convention American Federation of Labor or in Executive Council during interim.

Executive Council in session February eleven with regret found it impossible to send representatives because insufficient time to reach London.

We cabled this fact and fraternal greetings to Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assurance that American people are united in struggle for world justice and freedom.

American Federation of Labor responsible only for cable sent you by its representatives and not for cablegram garbled in press.

American labor glad to meet with representatives labor movements of allied countries but refuses to meet representatives of the labor movements of enemy countries while they are fighting against democracy and world freedom.

In the gigantic task to destroy autocracy there must be hearty co-operation among workers and we hope nothing will interfere with complete understanding and good-will between workers of America and allied countries.

A delegation representing American labor will shortly visit England and France to encourage, confer and co-operate in furtherance of the cause of labor and world democracy. Am sending identical cablegram to Albert Thomas, France.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

An identical cablegram was sent to Albert Thomas of France.

The statement was cabled from Great Britain that the Inter-Allied Labor Conference authorized a commission to come to the United States to confer with representatives of the American labor movement in order to clear up misunderstandings and to secure direct information of the views and plans of American labor. According to press reports the commission was to consist of representatives of British, French, Italian and Belgian labor. However, the

only official communication received in regard to this commission is the following cablegram from L. Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail:

PARIS, March 21st, 1918.

GOMPERS,

Washington, D. C.

I desire to make on the part of the working class delegation coming to America, to express to you satisfaction at our meeting soon.

JOUHAUX.

In view of the existing situation, for the purpose of holding conferences with workers of allied countries, of ascertaining conditions both in Great Britain and France; to bring home to our movement this information and to convey the information to our fellow workers of the allied countries of what we were doing in the United States; to convey the message of good will; to bring about a greater degree of co-operation and effective service for the toilers and for our common cause in winning the war, we authorized the creation of a commission of representative workers of the United States to visit both England and France. More particulars of this will be submitted later on in this report.

When it became known in Great Britain and France that an American labor mission was going over, information was cabled across that the departure of the Inter-Allied commission would be deferred at least until conferences were had with the American labor representatives. It is suggested that the entire correspondence on International Labor Relations published in the *American Federationist* be read when this subject is considered.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN LABOR COMMISSIONS

It is evident that the close co-operation and good-will essential to the most efficient conduct of the war can be secured only through personal contact and the exchange of ideas and experiences between the citizens of the various warring countries.

In furtherance of that purpose it will be recalled that at the request of President Gompers the British and the Canadian governments last year sent representative labor men to a conference held at the American Federation of Labor offices at Washington. They were, on the part of England, Mr. Charles W. Bowerman and Mr. James H. Thomas; on behalf of Canada, Mr. Gideon D. Robertson and Mr. J. C. Waters. To further promote these purposes the British government, through its labor member, Mr. George Barnes, sent a labor commission of representative trade unionists to their fellow-workers of the United States. The commission consisted of the following:

W. A. Appleton, Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions.
Chas. Duncan, Workers' Union.

Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society.

William Mosses, Patternmakers. Secretary the Advisory Labor Committee, Munitions Ministry.

The commission landed at an Atlantic port and was received by the representatives of labor and escorted to Washington to the headquarters of the A. F. of L. where after a series of conferences, mutual interchange of beneficial information and the manifestations of good will, a plan was formulated by which the four men should make a tour of the United States, two to visit the important cities of the eastern part of the country, and two to visit the important cities of the west. A representative of the American trade union movement accompanied each group. In all of the cities visited the British labor

representatives addressed meetings of trade unionists, employers and the general public. They were materially helpful in bringing about a better understanding of the situation in Great Britain and of the way the British labor movement had dealt with war problems.

The British delegates were representatives of the economic organization of British workers. They represented the British workers who are opposed to the "Stockholm scheme." Because of this fact an insidious campaign was conducted to destroy the influence and the efforts of these British labor representatives. The campaign, which was obviously conducted by a group of "intellectuals" who desire to dominate the American labor movement, did not succeed in convincing Americans, or in discounting the work performed by the British commission.

In addition to the appreciation that all must feel, and do feel, of the splendid work performed by the commission, it is interesting to know that the Council of National Defense adopted a resolution of welcome and greeting to them; that they were most cordially received by the President, and other representatives of our government, as well as by the British Ambassador. The Council of National Defense tendered to the labor mission a dinner at which a number of officers of the labor movement located at Washington were also guests. Several communications have since been exchanged between the representatives of the commission and officers of the A. F. of L. since the return of the commission to England.

It will be remembered that urgent invitations have come from the organized labor movement of Great Britain as well as from the government of that country, to have President Gompers and a delegation of American labor men visit that country. Circumstances at the time forbade. By reason of the fact that there was considerable misunderstanding as to the policy which the A. F. of L. has pursued and for the purpose of affording an opportunity for observations, information and the manifestation of good will, and because of the urgent insistence made upon us for a commission representative of American organized labor to visit England and France, we concluded that the best course we could pursue was to send a delegation of such representative workers to Great Britain and to France, and appointed the following as such a commission:

James Wilson, President, Patternmakers' League of North America.

William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.

George L. Berry, President, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

Martin F. Ryan, President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

John P. Frey, Editor official journal, International Molders' Union.

Miss Melinda Scott, President, Straw Hat Trimmers' and Operatives' Union.

Miss Agnes Nestor, Vice-President, Glove Workers' International Union.

William Short, President, Washington State Federation of Labor.

Chester M. Wright, Director, Publicity Department, American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, member International Typographical Union.

We have had direct communications from the commission but not of such a character suitable for incorporation in this official report, but from these reports, as well as the seemingly authentic cable dispatches published in the American newspapers, we are justified in expressing the conviction that the mission of our representatives has been amply fulfilled. The commission has been requested

by cable to have their report completed for submission either as part of this report or as a supplementary report to be submitted to this convention.

PEACE TERMS

Since the beginning of the present European war the American Federation of Labor at each convention has adopted declarations dealing with the peace which shall terminate the present war. It is fitting at the present time to gather the various principles that have been declared by our conventions into one comprehensive statement representing the peace demands of American Labor.

At the Philadelphia (1914) Convention a resolution was adopted which proposed a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Congress that would formulate the peace treaty closing the war.

We reported to the San Francisco (1915) Convention a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress, which was approved. This plan was transmitted to the labor movements of *all* countries. Replies were received from many concurring in the suggestion. However, Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote that in his judgment such a movement would be of doubtful practicability, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement.

For these reasons the Baltimore (1916) Convention adopted as a supplement to the first proposition, that the labor movement of the various countries should prevail upon their national governments to include representatives of Labor in the national delegation which would participate in the World Peace Congress.

These demands are in accord with the fundamental principles of democracy which is the basic issue involved in the war. The labor movement holds that the government should be the agency by which the will of the people is expressed, rather than the agency for controlling them.

The war is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all of the people. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom, the people have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage-earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agency authorized to make such decisions.

The Buffalo (1917) Convention declared that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie any peace treaty acceptable to them:

1. A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
3. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
5. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into

which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.
2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.
3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.
4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Because we believe that an effort in advance of the Peace Congress to apply these fundamental principles to concrete problems would result only in hindering and possibly imperiling the work of the representatives in the Peace Congress by limiting the scope and the effectiveness of the negotiatory powers of those who may represent the American Government and labor movement, we deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress. In addition, the progress attending the military events will undoubtedly greatly change the problems from time to time.

We are in accord with that program of world peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918.

The growth of political institutions is always attendant upon the development of closer and more complicated relations between groups of people. Simple, political institutions existing in simple, social organization have always grown into more adequate institutions, necessary to meet the internal needs and problems of a strong commercial people. A corresponding development had been taking place in relations between nations before the outbreak of war. The industrial and commercial lives of all nations had been closely bound together through world organization of markets, finances, systems of communications and exchange, and agencies for the stimulation and dissemination of information, the inadequacy of then existing international agencies for dealing with international affairs, was fully demonstrated.

International anarchy creates the opportunity for aggression on the part of strong resourceful nations seeking an outlet for unemployed energy and excess of production. Where there are no established agencies or methods for dealing with such aggressors, militarism manifests itself and can be eliminated only when the field of international relations is justly organized. This work of organization will clearly devolve upon a league of nations. Although its work will be fraught with far-reaching consequences such a league can be trusted to institute necessary agencies and methods if it is democratic and humane in character and method. We hold that diplomatic relations between nations must be democratic. In a word, where the human side of life is fully recognized and represented.

Diplomatic representatives of nations ought to be responsible to a representative agency in their government and should be received either by the parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people directly responsible to them.

Under the opportunities created by a league of nations adequate agencies could be established for dealing with all justiciable questions. An administrative body composed of representatives of the principal groups constituting national interests should be established to deal with practical problems in a constructive way and thus avert situations that might otherwise result in injustice and war. We have already a more or less indefinite mass of customs known as international law. The present law does not furnish adequate standards to direct in-

ternational relations. The law could be made more practical and more effective by conferences of representatives of the various peoples to revise, modify, and extend existing regulations.

As the result of experience, particularly as events have been disclosed since the beginning of the war, there has been demonstrated a total lack of effective organization of the forces among the peoples of all the countries to make for the maintenance of international peace and at the same time secure international justice. As an outgrowth of the war, new understandings and conceptions have developed to the causes of war and particularly of the present war; new conceptions of right and of justice and an increased determination to secure and thereafter maintain the peace of the world founded upon a higher morale of the peoples of the world. There can be no question as to the final outcome of this world struggle. Autocracy, militarism, and its most dangerous supporting weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish. Democracy, justice, freedom and absolute confidence between governments and peoples must be established and triumph. There is no doubt but out of the present war the morals and the conduct of the governments of the world must be upon a higher moral plane, and that this fact will make toward the establishment and maintenance of international relations which shall safeguard the peoples of the world in the enjoyment of a much desired permanent peace.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Since our report to the Buffalo Convention, Cardenio Gonzales presented credentials from various labor organizations of Chile to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee. Mr. Gonzales was authorized to bring fraternal greetings from the organized workers of Chile to the workers of the United States. He is here in this country studying the organization of American trade unions, and also his trade as a machinist in order that he may carry back information to fellow-workers of Chile.

In May we sent a labor commission to the labor organizations of Mexico to strengthen fraternal relations already established between Mexico and the United States by previous conferences, and to prepare the way for definite plans for the holding of the Pan-American conference. In addition, it is our hope that resulting conferences will bring about a better understanding between the peoples of Mexico and the United States and will thus frustrate the activities of vested interests that are employing powerful publicity agencies and diplomatic influences to bring about a misunderstanding between the governments of our two countries. The commission sent to Mexico consists of James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor; John Murray, Secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, and Santiago Iglesias, Porto Rican Free Federation of Workers. It is probable that the commission will be in position to make a report upon its work to this convention.

The convention unanimously indorsed this report of the Committee on International Relations:

Your Committee on International Labor Relations has approached all subjects referred to it from the viewpoint of "Win the War for Democracy and Justice." We hold, there can be no true democracy, justice and freedom in the economic, social or political field of endeavor under an autocratic form of government, asserting its authority and holding its power by militarism.

Under the captain, International Labor Relations (Page 34, Executive Council's Report), you will find interesting comprehensive information concerning several important matters, which if they had not been properly handled would have had, in our judgment, a far-reaching, disastrous result upon the present

and future welfare of our country's cause, our cause, and the sacred cause of our Allies in this crisis. Chief among these propositions are:

1. Proposals to hold international labor conference in which representatives from enemy countries should participate, and
2. Discussion of "peace terms."
3. Reconstruction.
4. The invitation made by Arthur Henderson, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the British Labor Party, to attend an Inter-Allied Labor Conference to commence in London on February 20, 1918.

The report sets forth that this invitation was received at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor late on February 9, 1918, and at a time which made it impossible for the American Federation of Labor to be represented at the Inter-Allied Conference. In the reply of President Gompers, authorized and forwarded by direction of the Executive Council, A. F. of L., we particularly note this statement:

"We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

We declare the position of the Executive Council in refusing to sit in conference at this time with delegates from countries with which we are at war is logically, morally and absolutely correct. We dare say, it is our judgment that no representatives to a conference of this nature could emerge from either of the Central Powers without the approval and consent of the autocratic rulers of these countries; hence, under such circumstances there could be no true expression of the hopes and the aspirations, and the true attitude of the toiling masses in those autocratically ridden, misgoverned, militaristic governments.

British and American Labor Commissions

Under the caption, "British and American Labor Commissions," we take note that following the British Commission, which came to our shores prior to the Buffalo Convention, and which consisted of C. W. Bowerman, J. H. Thomas, representing Great Britain, and Gideon D. Robertson and J. C. Waters, representing Canada, there has come to our shores a British Commission which consists of the following:

W. A. Appleton, Secretary General Federation of Trade Unions;

Chas. Duncan, Workers' Union;

Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society;

William Mosses, Patternmakers,

and that following the visit of this last named Commission, a labor mission was sent to Great Britain and France, appointed by the President and credentialed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

**TO OUR FELLOW WORKERS OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE,
AND TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:**

This is to certify that

Mr. James Wilson, President Patternmakers' League of North America;

Mr. John P. Frey, Executive Officer International Molders, Union of North America;

Mr. William Short, President Washington State Federation of Labor;

Miss Melinda Scott, President Straw Hat Trimmers and Operatives' Union;

Miss Agnes Nestor, Vice-President Glove Workers' International Union;

Mr. William H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists;

Mr. George L. Berry, President International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union;

Mr. Chester M. Wright, member International Typographical Union;

Mr. Martin F. Ryan, President Brotherhood of Railway Carmen;

are members of the respective organizations given under the name of each. The above names have been selected as representing the organized labor movement of America as expressed by the American Federation of Labor.

The above trade unionists have been directed to make investigation of the conditions prevailing in England and in France, particularly as they apply to the workers, to the people generally and to the situation in the great cause for which England and France and the United States are contending against the central powers; to convey such information as may be helpful for the common cause of labor and democracy; to carry the message of good will, solidarity and co-operation in that cause. The mission is also to confer with labor representatives of all allied countries.

The delegation is empowered to confer with the representatives of organized labor of England and of France, for the exchange of views as to the present situation and conditions and the prospective outlook for co-operative effort in the common cause, the establishment of world democracy.

The delegation will represent the declarations and position of the American Federation of Labor as declared by the conventions and the Executive Council thereof. They will convey a message of good will and fraternity and the pledge of American labor and of the American Republic to stand true until the triumphant conclusion of the war. We bespeak for the delegation a cordial greeting and sympathetic support of our fellow workers wherever they may be, and it will be gratifying to reciprocate in any way within our power.

Fraternally yours,

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President.

Attest: FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

Owing to undisputed German propaganda working insiduously in all allied and neutral countries, and misstatements and misunderstandings created as a consequence which if not corrected, the entering wedge, in an effort to divide labor's forces, both industrial and as to its attitude to our respective governments, would have been driven home with great damage resulting to our cause. Statements of such a character, having their origin in the camps of our enemies were made, and unless corrected, the whole aims, objects and attitude of labor here and in our allied countries would have been misunderstood; all of which would have been giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

Your committee is of the opinion that because of this and other potential reasons, that it was necessary to send this American Commission, and that to

have failed to have done so, the Executive Council would have been derelict in its duty. We therefore fully concur in the action of our Executive Council:

First—As to the expression, "We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom," and

Second—Their action in sending a Commission of American Trade Unionists to Great Britain and France, for a purpose of clarifying the situation, and by personal contact more clearly stating the viewpoint of the American trade union movement. This action in itself was potentially effective in strengthening the morale of the British, the French, the Belgian and the Italian workers and in the justice of our common cause.

Peace Terms

Under this caption, the Council sets forth in detail organized labor's attitude as first expressed at the Philadelphia, 1914, Convention, down to and including the action taken at the Buffalo, 1917, Convention.

At the Philadelphia Convention, the American Federation of Labor proposed that a Peace Congress, composed of representatives of labor of all countries, should meet and give expression to Labor's views of peace treaties, at the time peace terms between nations shall be considered at the close of the war;

At the San Francisco, 1915, Convention, a comprehensive plan for the convocation of such a World Labor Congress was proposed and approved. This plan was forwarded through proper channels to the labor movements of all countries. Mr. Carl Legien, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of Germany, wrote stating that in his judgment such a plan and movement was of doubtful practicability, and the British labor movement withheld endorsement;

At the Baltimore, 1916, Convention, a supplementary plan to the first proposition was proposed and adopted; that is, that the labor movements of the various countries should prevail upon the national governments to include representatives of labor in the National Delegation, which would participate in the World Peace Congress, and at the same time reaffirmed the action taken at the foregoing stated conventions;

At the Buffalo, 1917, Convention, previous actions were reaffirmed and reindorsed, and, in addition, more clear-cut and fundamental principles were declared, to be in our judgment the basic construction of proper peace terms. These are set forth in the Council's report, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here, except to say that paramount among these recommendations are:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple and embarrass others.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

and,

"Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, where the party shall have been duly convicted."

and, last but not least,

"Establishment of trial by jury."

Reaffirming and reasserting former declarations of principles concerning terms of peace, we hold and again reiterate a former declaration, that the terms of peace and the calling of peace conferences primarily rests with our government, and that whatever we may say in this connection is purely an expression of our thoughts and our hopes, and of an advisory character. We cannot refrain from asserting that it is our judgment and belief no just nor lasting peace can be obtained by negotiations until victory is achieved. The universe is horrified over the precipitation of a war that has set the whole world on fire, and there is no question in our minds as to who started the war, and the then hidden, but now public, purposes of the German imperialistic and militaristic government. There can be no real or permanent peace, such as will safeguard, and protect freedom and justice, that is not predicated upon democracy and the rights of the people to self-government. We owe it to ourselves, to our country, and to our Allies, and to the peoples of all civilized countries, to insist upon a peace that shall be grounded upon the triumph of our cause, democracy and justice.

Events in Russia have shown the utter futility of attempting to negotiate peace treaties with the Central Powers as they are now constituted.

Your committee agrees with the Council substantially that "We deem it unwise at this time to formulate concrete declarations in regard to problems that will come before the Peace Congress," and that

"We are in accord with the program of World Peace stated by the President of the United States in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, and moreover,

"That autocracy and militarism and its most dangerous weapon, irresponsible diplomacy, must perish."

Adhering strictly to these principles, we are of the opinion that no permanent peace can be made nor should be made until democracy supplants autocracy, and that a league of nations is established for the purpose of maintaining a just peace for and the protection of small nations.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate D. D'Alessandro, President, International Hod Carriers Building and Common Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Intercommunication by means of missions for the purpose of promoting a helpful understanding among themselves has been resorted to with growing frequency by the allied countries opposed to the Teutonic powers; and

WHEREAS, The notably beneficial results obtained by the American Labor Mission which has just returned from Great Britain and France have proved an additional illustration of the necessity of a constant exchange of views among the organized wage-workers of the allied countries, since new necessities arise with the events marking the progress of the world war; and

WHEREAS, The laboring masses of these countries are at present confronted with an urgent need of mutual enlightenment and assistance, as they perhaps more than any other social element would be sufferers through a Hun victory; and

WHEREAS, Italy has remained unvisited by representatives of the American labor movement, and Italy's almost superhuman efforts in the war have been obscured by the disaster brought about by German peace propaganda at once insidiously plausible and incredibly treacherous; and

WHEREAS, Not a particle of doubt can reasonably be entertained

by loyal Americans in the satisfactory outcome of a visit to Italy by an American Labor mission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, be, and hereby is, authorized to go to Italy at his earliest convenience, there to maintain the principles of our Federation, in peace as well as in this war, this convention feeling assured that his name would convey to Italy hope and encouragement and that his message would also be testimony to the confidence entertained by Americans in every walk of life in the continued loyalty of Italians to the cause of the Allies, in their persistence in the war at every sacrifice, and in their unity with the British, the French and the Americans in the ideals of a democracy and liberty which it is our hope shall finally prevail throughout the entire world.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption with the suggestion that President Gompers' visit to Italy be arranged so as to conform to the time he visits Great Britain and France.

This resolution was adopted on recommendation of the Committee on International Relations:

WHEREAS, Our country with our Allies is engaged in a war, the declared purpose of which is the principle of democracy, liberty, justice and equality, and the rights of the people of all countries and nations to determine and choose for themselves a system and method of government, which will insure to them the greatest degree of liberty and justice;

WHEREAS, the labor movement of our country has loyally supported our government in the present war for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, self-government and justice;

WHEREAS, The inhabitants of Ireland and great liberty-loving people with distinct nationality and countries, have been contending for generations against any oppression and objectionable form of government forced upon them, without their consent;

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the war principles as expressed by President Wilson, as follows: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike." And also "A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations," and "The recognition of the rights of smaller nations," also our own declarations as follows: 4. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live;" and moreover, that we reindorse and reaffirm our oft-repeated declaration in favor of home rule and the freest kind of government for Ireland and for all liberty-loving nations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do and hereby pledges itself to the people of Ireland and to all small nations to the support of the principles herein set forth and instructs the Executive Council to urge upon the President and the Congress of the United States the duty of making these declarations cardinal principles as the basis upon which we shall enter into final peace treaties which are to be signed after a triumphant victory for our cause and the cause of our Allies has been achieved.

LABOR MISSION TO GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

The following report of the Labor Mission to Great Britain and France was unanimously adopted by St. Paul Convention in June, 1918:

The members of the mission began the work which lay before them by conferring with President Gompers in Washington and receiving his final advice. From the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor the members of the mission proceeded to New York City. Before sailing, Sir Andrew Caird met the delegation at a luncheon as a representative of the British government. Once aboard ship, the members of the mission arranged for daily sessions at which they discussed the problems before them and more thoroughly familiarized themselves with the official records of the American Federation of Labor relative to its war aims and policies, and the suggestions which they had received from President Gompers.

Two incidents gave excitement to the voyage. The ship passed through an exceptionally severe storm, and on the last morning was subjected to a submarine attack, the torpedo passing about eight feet from the ship's bow and hitting the stern of the cruiser which at that time formed a part of the naval convoy. Fortunately the damage done was insufficient to sink the battleship, and two well-placed depth bombs, discharged by one of the destroyers, in all probability sent the submarine to the port where it properly belonged. After landing at a port somewhere in England, the party was taken to a large city to pass the night and rest, but a Zeppelin raid, the first which had visited this city for two years, made rest impossible. Shortly afterwards the party found themselves in London, where the delegation immediately placed themselves in touch with the representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions and the British Trade Union Congress.

It has been deemed advisable in this report to refer to the mission's work under separate captions, in order that the several features referred to might be treated concisely, and made more readily accessible to those who may desire at some future time to refer to its contents.

President Wilson's Leadership

During our trip through France and the British Isles nothing was more often or more forcibly borne in upon us than the high esteem and respect universally felt in those countries for our own President, Woodrow Wilson.

It was a source of great satisfaction to note the position of world leadership which our President occupies. Wherever the mission went it found the same generous measure of praise and the same high degree of admiration and confidence expressed. No matter in what differing industrial or political circles we found ourselves there was the same profound admiration for him. In public meetings everywhere mention of President Wilson's name and his war aims always brought forth a spontaneous and prolonged demonstration.

The actions and utterances of President Wilson have immeasurably heartened the people of the countries of our allies and have inspired them to a lofty and abiding faith in the triumph of democracy. It is to President Wilson that millions of our brothers across the sea look with confidence as the great leader who will bring the world to peace through victory on the same high libertarian plane that so strikingly characterized America's entry into the conflict.

In our discussions with the various sections of the labor movement abroad one of the notable features was the unanimity with which all agreed in support of the war aims set forth by President Wilson and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. No matter what other differences there were on questions concerning the war, all wings came together on this point. It is President Wilson's interpretation of the war and his declaration of its purposes that have made it in reality among all people what Samuel Gompers so graphically termed it, "a crusade for human freedom."

Conferences

The leaders of the British and French Trade Union movements, having been informed by President Gompers of our mission, were eagerly awaiting our arrival. In London and Paris arrangements had been made to hold conferences at which the representatives of the movement in the respective countries would be present.

The conferences which were held proved of the utmost value, for they gave the opportunity for an exchange of opinions, viewpoints and policies which could not have been secured by any other method of communication. As a result, it was possible for the mission to clearly and definitely state the attitude and policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of war aims, and what was equally as important, give the reasons which had prompted American trade-unionists to adopt these policies which have so profoundly influenced the program of the movement in the allied nations. These conferences also gave us the invaluable privilege of meeting the leaders in Great Britain and France and receiving from their lips a concrete statement of the policies which they had adopted, and the reasons and conditions upon which these were based.

In both countries we found nothing but the heartiest approval of the war aims adopted by the American Federation of Labor, coupled with the oft-repeated assertion that our brothers in the allied countries had been greatly heartened by the position which the American trade union movement had taken. They had looked to America for assistance in formulating sound policies, and their expectations had been generously fulfilled.

Upon but one policy was there a marked divergence of opinion, and upon this there hinged a question of the most vital importance.

The Blackpool Convention of the British Trade Union Congress, in 1917, adopted a resolution which provided for the calling of a conference to consider peace terms, at which representatives of the workers from all of the warring countries would be present. In February, 1918, an Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference was held in London at which representatives of the trade union and socialist movements of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Roumania and South Africa were present. This conference adopted a memorandum on war aims, which was accepted by those present as a guide for the workers in the nations which were represented. One section of this memorandum provided for the calling of an International Congress of Labor and Socialist organizations for the purpose of removing misunderstandings and obstacles which stand in the way of world peace. Such a conference would be held in a neutral country "under the auspices of an impartial committee," and would seat representatives from the Central Powers. As an essential condition, all organizations desiring to be represented would be called upon to state in precise terms through a public declaration their conformity with the principles of "no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they were working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply these principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference. Furthermore, the memorandum provided that such conferences "provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace."

It was apparent to the members of our mission that there was a wide divergence of opinion between the leaders in both Great Britain and France as to the interpretation and construction to be placed upon the latter portion of the sentence quoted. To some it meant that the delegates at such an international conference would adopt resolutions or formulate policies or programs of a definite and all embracing character; by others it was interpreted to

mean that such a conference would not be permitted to proceed further than an exchange of opinions. In fact one leading figure most prominently connected in Great Britain with the project of an international congress assured us in the most emphatic manner that he was opposed to having such a congress go further than conversations, and that he was opposed to having it take any action in any way binding upon any of the delegates. These statements were made before a joint session with the parliamentary committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and were not challenged by any one present. It is possible that there are leaders in Great Britain who are of the opinion that such a conference should adopt a program more or less binding upon the respective movements, and there are a goodly number who express the most vigorous opposition to any conference at which representatives of the workers from the Central Powers are seated until German armies have been withdrawn from the soil of France, Belgium, Italy and Russia, and the German military machine is no longer a menace to civilization. While the representatives from France at the Inter-Allied Conference subscribed to the memorandum and today give support to the thought that an international conference should go no further than conventions, a number of the leaders in that country expressed the opinion that it would be folly to hold it unless binding action was taken. At the conferences held in both countries there were prominent leaders who naively informed us that it was the intention to make the qualifications for a seat in an international conference so stringent that representatives from the Central Powers would decline to be present, their failure to participate, should they so decide, supplying evidence that they were insincere in their desire to have a peace established which would provide equal justice and freedom to all of the nations involved in the war.

Our first conference with labor representatives was held in a chamber of the House of Commons, London, on April 17, representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and of the Labor Party being present. At this session little more than a limited reference was made to the war policies of the respective movements. On April 29th, and 30th, conferences were held with the same representatives in Central Hall, Westminster. At the first of these the official actions of the American Federation of Labor upon the war were read from the convention proceedings, beginning with the resolution introduced by President Gompers at the Philadelphia Convention, 1914, and including all that was adopted by the Buffalo Convention, 1917, bearing upon our movement's war policies. This was followed by a lengthy statement covering the war experiences of our movement and the reasons which had prompted the American trade union movement to adopt the war policies and aims which now determine its actions. In reply representatives of the British movement gave us the benefit of many of their experiences. Much of the time was devoted on the part of some who were prominent because of their positions, to a discussion of the reasons why in their opinion an international conference was essential. The opinion was expressed by one prominent leader that our American movement would be unfortunate if it maintained its position not to participate in an international conference as one would be held in all probability without our presence, yet later on the same individual during the conference expressed the thought that should the position of the A. F. of L. be maintained it would probably make the convening of an international conference an impossibility. From the opinions expressed the mission is justified in assuming that the leaders in Great Britain are far from unanimous upon the question of the advisability of holding an international conference and that there also exists a divergence of opinion on the part of those who do, upon what it could accomplish and the conditions under which such a conference should be held. Many of those who believed in the holding of an international conference were vigorous in their belief that the German military machine must be defeated, their opinions being that such a conference would assist in bringing about this result through its influence upon the workers of Germany

and Austria, and the effect upon the workers in the allied countries should the workers of the Central Powers refuse to participate. With the exception of the self-confessed pacifists, we found the British representatives stoutly insisting that the allied armies must be loyally sustained by the workers in industry, and the German military machine defeated. There was also a unanimous agreement with the thought that the time had arrived when the trade union movement should be more directly represented in international diplomacy connected with the war, and that there should also be a similar representation at the official peace conference following the ultimate armistice.

It was suggested that the mission, after having participated in the conference, should endeavor to determine the extent to which the A. F. of L. war aims agreed with those of the British Trade Congress and the Inter-Allied Conference of February last. The mission, however, assumed the position that it had no authority to negotiate or agree relative to the actions taken by the labor movements in any of the allied countries. It held that it was only authorized to state the war aims and policies adopted by the A. F. of L. and to confer with the representatives of the labor movements of the allied nations so that an accurate report of their aims and policies could be submitted to the American movement. Furthermore, the members of the mission declined to take part in the consideration or adoption of any resolution which might have been introduced, or to make any public statements as to any points of agreement or disagreement which might exist in the war aims of the trade union movements of America and the allied countries. By assuming this position your mission prevented any misconception as to its functions and the misconstructions and misinterpretations which might have been placed upon its actions by those who were desirous of discrediting it or making it appear that there existed a difference of opinion, however slight, between the members of the mission and the official war aims of the A. F. of L.

Upon its return from France the mission again met with the same group of British representatives, this conference being held on May 17, in Central Hall, Westminster. On this occasion the impression received as the result of conferences with the joint representatives of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist Party were submitted, and the need for a closer and more continuous method of contact and communication with French trade unionists expressed.

In France there exists a joint representative body created between the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party to consider all questions relative to labor's war aims and policies. It was this joint body which welcomed us by a luncheon in Paris on May 5th. Several hours were devoted to a statement of the French and American labor war aims, and the ground prepared for the two conferences which took place the following day at the headquarters of the Confederation General du Travail. At the first of these the official reports of A. F. of L. conventions were read as they had been at our conferences in London and the same explanation given. Those present representing French labor were in hearty agreement with the A. F. of L. war aims, though they differed somewhat with the methods adopted by our movement, and the great majority were opposed to the American determinations to participate in no international conference until German armies were no longer a menace. One of the most prominent figures in the Confederation General du Travail expressed the opinion which was supported by practically all French representatives present, that an international conference was necessary, his conviction being that it would be possible to impress upon the German and Austrian workers that it was their duty to act for the general welfare of the workers of the world. If these representatives should refuse to agree upon just peace terms, then nothing would be left but to continue the war. He believed, however, that by meeting with them, action could be taken which would hasten peace and supplant plutocratic government by a socialist government. While our French

brothers differed somewhat with the methods of the A. F. of L. they repeatedly expressed not only their unqualified approval of the A. F. of L. war aims, but their conviction that in adopting these the American labor movement had clearly shown the way for all labor movements to follow. We found during our conferences that among our French brothers there existed wide differences of opinion as to the methods by which war aims were to be applied, and that as in Great Britain there existed no small differences as to methods and policies between those who were purely trade-union representatives, and those who represented the political groups assuming to speak for labor. As in Great Britain, efforts were made to have us commit ourselves to the points of agreement or difference which might exist in the program or methods of the two countries, but we declined to do otherwise than maintain the position assumed at the London conferences. Our French brothers had extended a most generous welcome to us, every courtesy was shown on their part, and the farewell which they gave conveyed in full the sentiments of affection for the personnel of the mission and their high regard for the A. F. of L. It is our opinion that much practical good will follow from the London and Paris conferences in which we participated. The press of both countries in more than one instance had failed to clearly and accurately express the A. F. of L. policies, so that these had not been clearly understood, and several individuals for personal or political motives had evidently colored their statements relative to our movement to accomplish whatever purpose they had in mind. The misconceptions which had arisen were overcome through the presentation of the official records of the A. F. of L. conventions, and if the mission accomplished nothing else, it succeeded in clearly stating the position of the American trade-union movement on the subject of war aims and policies.

The receptions tendered to the mission are referred to in a separate section of this report, but at this place we desire to refer to those which were given to us by our British and French brethren. The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade-Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party entertained us with a dinner and reception in the House of Commons on the day of our first conference. The following evening the Executive Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions entertained us in a similar manner in the same historic building. Shortly before leaving England, Brother W. A. Appleton, General Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, who had just returned from his American trip, extended hospitality in the form of a dinner in the House of Commons. The standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations gave a tea and reception to the women members of our mission, and as we were leaving London the joint Parliamentary Committee and Labor Party said their farewell at a luncheon which they had provided. In addition a number of special dinners and luncheons were given to individual members of the party. At these dinners and receptions the most hospitable cordiality was extended, and hearty good wishes expressed for the continued success of the American Federation of Labor and its President, Samuel Gompers. In France the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and Socialist Party entertained us at an elaborate luncheon, and the day following again extended proverbial French hospitality at a luncheon. Only our short stay in Paris prevented our participation in other receptions which they had arranged for our entertainment.

Interviews with Representatives of Allied Workers

While in London and Paris representatives of the labor movements of several countries met members of our mission for the purpose of describing the problems with which they were forced to contend, and requesting information as to the manner in which the A. F. of L. was dealing with similar questions if they arose. They also desired to be more fully advised relative to the war aims and policies of the American Trade Union movement. Among those whom we

met under these circumstances were representatives of the Roumanian, Serbian, Italian and Greek workers. We also had several lengthy interviews with the leaders of the Belgian movement who were attending to the interests of the Belgian workers in Britain and France.

International Federation of Trade Unions

During the conferences held in London and Paris with representatives of the labor movement and in private conversations with many of the leaders in both countries, reference was made to the many existing conditions which could only be adequately met through the re-establishing of an effective International Federation of Labor. In both countries it was the unanimous opinion that it should be re-established in a neutral country. At present there exists an unfortunate dearth of official records of the several national trade union movements, and owing to this it has been possible for politicians and the partisan and general press to spread much misinformation among the workers relative to the attitude of trade union leaders and official policies. There is a crying need for a much greater international exchange of trade union information, experience and ideas, which can only be accomplished satisfactorily through a central international trade union bureau or secretary. Such an international center is also most essential so that greater stability and unity of purpose may be established. In Great Britain and upon the European Continent there exists today among the workers more or less joint industrial and political movements, the French workers having the joint committee of the Confederation General du Travail and the Socialist party, while the British workers in their labor party include Socialist groups such as the Independent Labor Party, National Socialist Party, British Socialist Party and the Fabian Society. While these Socialist groups work with the trade unions politically they maintain their separate affiliation with the International Socialist organization. Our European trade union brothers are the best judges of what their political activities should be and what affiliations, political or otherwise, which this should include, but the existing condition tends nevertheless to emphasize the urgent necessity for a purely international trade union federation at which the industrial problems can be given ample consideration entirely apart from any political movements or considerations. It is unsafe and unsound to passively contemplate the influences exerted upon the trade union movement in the great industrial nations of the world by political leaders, however sincere they may be, whose viewpoint and experiences are those of the theorist and politician. The policies and programs of the workers must be formulated by the workers themselves, acting through their industrial organizations, if their best interests are to be conserved.

Public Meetings

It would be impossible to calculate the number of persons reached directly by members of our mission through public addresses and through interviews in the press, but an idea of our activities in addressing public meetings may be gained from perusal of the list of cities in which public addresses were made.

In London a number of public meetings were addressed. In several other cities two or more meetings were held. Following is a complete list of cities in which public addresses were made:

London and suburban district; Manchester, Norwich, York, Deptford, Leeds, Sheffield, Port Sunlight, Birmingham, Brighton, New Castle, Gretna Green, North Hampton, Sunderland, Salford, Stockport, Nottingham, Edinburg, Glasgow and numerous shipyards on the Clyde; Ayr, where the Scottish Trade Union Congress was in session; Dundee, Swansea, Cardiff, Southampton, Greenwich, Versailles and Paris.

In nearly all of these cities, in addition to the public meetings, there were banquets and receptions given in our honor by the municipal authorities.

War Preparations

War preparations in Britain, where we had opportunity to observe most fully, continue at a rate that insures an ever growing supply of the munitions of war.

During a conference with Winston Churchill, minister of munitions, we were told that 2,500,000 men and women are now engaged in war production, working directly under the direction of the Ministry of Munitions. Significant of Britain's man-power conditions was his statement that nine-tenths of all British shells are made by women. Significant of the state of labor conditions was his statement that since the war began there has been less than one day in one thousand per worker lost by strikes.

Throughout Britain new munitions plants are being erected. On one day we observed two new plants under construction, each covering several acres. France also is busily engaged in increasing war materials production, but our opportunity for observation there was more limited, due to the shortage of time.

Production of non-essentials has practically ceased in both countries. In Britain stocks of luxuries are almost exhausted and it is impossible to buy many of the comforts and trifles of peace times.

Mills and factories that made these things in peace times have been converted to the making of war munitions. Plants that made textiles are either making army uniform cloth or have been converted to factories for the production of shells. Conversion of factories to war purposes has been general.

It was our valued privilege to visit in both France and Britain many of the great plants in which munitions are made. Scarcely an article of war is made the manufacture of which we were unable to see. We saw the manufacture of tanks in both France and Britain and were permitted to ride in them. We saw airplanes manufactured and were permitted to learn many details concerning new construction. We saw the manufacture of heavy ordnance and of shells. We saw the manufacture of high explosives and of gas masks. And we saw these processes on a scale so vast in both countries as to eclipse any previous picture drawn by the imagination. It is for military authorities to dwell upon the significance of these great projects of a military nature, but it may be said here that the entire industrial fabric of these two nations has been so taken from its original form and re-shaped that its entire purpose now is the production of munitions and equipment to be hurled against the German lines.

The fighting lines at the front are the culminating point of the national effort and the national effort must all co-ordinate with the needs of the front. The nation has become a fighting machine of which the front is the cutting edge and back of which every part must harmonize with every other part. Direct observation through Britain and France brings these facts into strong relief. Every useful citizen is a part of the fighting machinery of the nation and there is little room and small excuse for the person who is not useful in some capacity.

In connection with war preparations it may be interesting to know that the army is concerning itself with food production for its own uses. At Versailles we were shown a tract of 1,500 acres being cultivated scientifically by French and American soldiers, temporarily unfit for the front. Here, under intensive cultivation, seeding plants are grown. These seeding plants are sent to the front where the fighting troops till their own gardens just behind the lines. It should be said here also that general cultivation in both France and Britain is going forward this year on an increased scale. Both of these countries bear the marks of minute and careful attention. Even around the reserve trenches in France wheat is growing, though the effort here will be lost if further retiring movements are compelled.

The scale of war preparations as we saw them indicate no fixed stopping

point, but a determination to plan for any eventuality and never to count the war won or the ground safe until the fact of victory itself has been achieved.

Attitude of the Public

In war today the morale of the people constitutes one of the vital lines of defense. Unless that holds everything else is weakened, if not lost. The Mission therefore gave especial attention to the state of mind among the people at all times.

That there is a certain weariness among the people of France and Britain is evident even to the casual observer. The burdens of nearly four years of terrific war have fallen upon their shoulders. The drainage of man-power has been such as to leave at home few but the aged, the unfit and the very young. Where men formerly preponderated in industry, women now preponderate. There are innumerable hardships to irritate nerves already freighted with tragedy and sorrow.

But despite the burdens, the will to win remains unshaken. The deep meaning of the war is graven into the hearts of the people in all walks of life, and there is an unmistakable and profound conviction that, to quote an American, "the only way out of this war is through it."

There is, it must be said, a pacifist minority that would yield to Prussianism upon any pretext or none. Among the fanatics of this minority there are all shades of pacifist and enemy opinion. And the minority is noisy. However, the minority is too small to affect the national purpose in either nation. The fair and correct statement is that the morale of the people in France and Britain is fully equal to the strain that must yet be borne, and that in these countries Germany's greatest antagonist is the determination of free people to remain free.

Beneath the care and weariness that is all but hidden, there is a serenity that betokens confidence. It is a calm confidence. It is a splendid confidence. It is an unshakable confidence. It is found in home and factory. It survives air raids and long range lateral bombardments. Even those who live and toil within sound and range of the guns in France go about their work with the manner of those who believe themselves immune from danger, or with utter indifference.

Your mission arrived in England while the force of the German spring offensive was at its height. During that time we also visited Scotland, and even during the visit to France there was uncertainty as to what the ultimate limits of the Teutonic thrust might be. There have been few such anxious moments in the histories of nations, yet there was an almost inexplicable freedom from anything that would indicate a quickened public anxiety. There were no such showers of newspapers in the streets as would be seen in an American city, no such surging crowds around bulletin boards. There was an interest in the titanic struggle, but it was a quiet interest in which people sought the news quietly and went their way quietly after having got it.

Your mission is convinced of the soundness of the public will and the public understanding, both in Britain and France, and this conviction is based upon innumerable personal conversations, upon observation in great public gatherings and upon the expressions of a wide variety of people in every station and region of the territory covered.

Throughout this period of greatest stress the people remained calm, their only manifestations being those of a grim and unyielding determination.

Attitude of Soldiers

The men of the armies appear to feel that the war is their job, and they go about their work as something not to be left until it is finished. We have observed and talked freely with soldiers of every variety, from fresh young American soldiers to French and British veterans in service since the early days of the war.

The spirit of the fighting men in France was illustrated forcibly by a

brigade of French troops which we saw marching to take its place in the line in Flanders, where the fighting was most severe. This brigade marched as if on parade, with colors flying and the brisk music of a bugle band cheering them on. We came upon this brigade some five miles from the fighting front. The soldiers were in heavy marching order, and presented a spectacular array, swinging along under a glittering, menacing array of fixed bayonets.

There is a dogged grimness of face about the soldiers in France. Upon the features of British and French there are the set lines that come of long and firm resolve, resolve inflexible as long as life remains. Such men as we have seen may be slain, but they can never be crushed into defeat.

With the American soldier there is not the pronounced setting of the face that only time and struggle can produce. With them there is, however, a calm confidence, without rancor and without hate thus far. So far as appearances are concerned, the American soldiers might be sanitary engineers, in France to rid the country of a pestilence, thoroughly capable of doing what they came to do and knowing themselves to be capable. It is a splendid spirit, inspiring and satisfying.

Among the British and French soldiers we have seen men who, though wounded time and again, have returned each time to "help finish the job." One famous British aviator continues to fly, though he has lost a leg in combat. A lad who enlisted at the outbreak of war served some months at the front, was invalided home, recovered and enlisted with the air service, where he served two years before being shot down from a height of 2,000 feet, after which he enlisted in the navy. There are countless men in the allied armies who, though entitled to be "ticketed" home, refuse to quit the field upon which the fate of democracy must be decided. They serve to illustrate the spirit of the allied fighting force as a whole. It is the same spirit that stopped the invaders at the Marne, and that will in the end drive them back into Germany in defeat.

The soldiers of the allied armies have written the story of their own heroic determination, and it is not possible to add any word that will emphasize the splendor of their achievement. Every magnificent quality that has gone into the building of the war's history is there in France and Flanders today. The heroes of Liege and Louvain and Rheims and Verdun live again from day to day in the persons of other men, fighting on and ready to fight on until victory is achieved.

It does these valiant soldiers no injustice to say that their spirits are buoyed, their enthusiasms heightened and their eyes quickened by the swiftly growing American army. And the good fellowship with which the British and French greet, mingle with and fight with the American new-comer completes the forging of the bonds of alliance in the sacred cause for which civilization's millions are contending.

Attitude of Workers

Much of the material that will indicate the attitude of the workers of France and Great Britain toward the war will be found in other sections of this report. It will doubtless be gathered that it is impossible to take the statements of leaders unquestioned, when dealing with the attitude of the mass of working people.

Your mission was given exceptional opportunities to observe the attitude of both organized and unorganized labor. All of the chief industrial centers of England and Scotland were visited. In nearly all of these meetings were held. Some of these meetings were public, while others were open only to trade unionists.

Our careful and extended observation leads us to report that the working people in the mass have not been infected with pacifist virus, and that there is among them no wish to falter in the course that must be run to win the war. It seems fair to say that organic contact with the productive forces of national

life makes for a clear and steady brain and a vision unclouded by hallucination or sophistry. This is the thought brought out by observation of the working people with whom we came in contact.

The cost of living has arisen amazingly in both France and Britain, causing a most acute burden to rest upon the working people. However, while there is a general understanding of the necessity for maintaining proper standards, and while much effort is given to that activity, there is thorough appreciation that American labor is right in declaring that the war must be won or all free effort will be denied the opportunity to function.

It would be impossible to pass from this subject without paying tribute to the splendid spirit of the women of Britain and France who have nobly borne the tremendous share of war's burden which has been thrust upon them by the draining of man-power for the fighting lines. It is a spirit of which the citizenry of these nations will be proud for all time, and a spirit which harmonizes with the whole fiber and purpose of these two brave countries.

Food Conditions

Shortage of food in France and the British Isles impressed us as being a matter of prime interest to Americans. Rationing is universal and our own rations accorded strictly with those governing residents, so that in our own experience we found the truth about food conditions.

In both countries the civilian population willingly sacrifices the food of normal times in order that the men at the front may be supplied amply. With the introduction of rationing throughout England "queues" (that is, long lines of waiting people) were practically abolished and since these were the chief cause of complaint there now is practically no dissatisfaction expressed.

The French say, "C'est la guerre"—it is the war—and that answers all questions and all complaints. The English say "What are you 'grousing' about? You're not at the front," and that answers everything.

Such food restrictions as are now known in America are minor and trifling in comparison with those of France and Britain. There the individual who can secure butter at one meal a day is fortunate. Many families see no butter for days at a time and frequently cannot even get a 'margarine substitute.

In England the sugar allowance is six ounces per person per week. It has become a habit with thousands to carry with them saccharine or santine tablets for use as substitutes for sugar.

Sweets and confections are pitiful imitations of former luxuries, where they have not disappeared altogether.

The meat ration is so meager that in many families the father eats no meat whatever in order that the children may have something approaching a normal allowance.

In England the bread ration is two ounces per meal. The bread is coarse and dark. In Paris it is the custom for guests to unobtrusively leave their bread coupons on the table in order that the host may not be compelled to pay for the entertainment by going without bread one meal for each guest entertained.

At the time of our visit in France there was no meat restriction, due to peculiar local conditions, but since that time three meatless days per week have been imposed.

In both countries fish and eggs are used as substitutes for meat. This results in an endless repetition of these two articles on every table until the wonder is that complaint is not universal.

However, complaint is notable for its absence. It is a part of the price of freedom and is accepted ungrudgingly as such.

We cannot but feel it our duty to say that it should be considered a privilege by every American to help conserve our own food supply in order that the surplus for our brave allies should be as generous as possible. Compared with theirs, our supply is abundant. We have not begun even to suspect the meaning of food shortage as it is known in France and Britain.

The Armies of Our Allies

The whole gigantic effort of war culminates at the front, and not until the front has been seen is the picture of war complete.

Under the guidance of staff officers, the mission visited the French, American and British fronts. Traveling in French army automobiles, the party left Paris early in the morning for the French front. It will help the American to understand what the war means to France if he will picture going to the front by automobile from his own home city.

After traversing much of the territory occupied by the Germans in 1914 before they were halted at the Marne—territory which it will take years to bring back to its former productive condition—the party reached Rheims. Before entering the historic city, now mantled in a shroud of bravery and tragedy, the ruins with the enemy lines beyond were viewed through a powerful glass from an observation post high above the level of the city itself, a far better observation post for French officers than the towers of the cathedral, proof that no military consideration justified the wanton destruction of that incomparable edifice.

As the gray cars entered the ancient gateway an American aviator hovered overhead, a fair but elusive target for the shower of German shells that burst beneath him.

Nothing portrays with such completeness the Hun spirit as does this devastated, deserted city. It is a mass of broken walls. Scarcely a structure stands unscathed by the torrent of fire and steel. With singular majesty the great cathedral stands in the midst of the wreckage like a proud captain with his shattered legions clinging in bleeding array at his feet.

Not a living thing is left. Only the constant booming of the big guns in front emphasizes the reality of the scene. It is a dead city, slain wantonly and hideously by the guns which voice the Prussian hate of free life and free institutions. Only gaunt, scarred remnants of walls remain, tombstones of a magnificent and heroic past, monuments to an unconquerable spirit.

As we gazed upon this desolation workmen were sawing away the last bolts from the base of the statue of Joan of Arc in front of the cathedral so that this one untouched bit of the past might be taken away to security.

With the cars running in pairs, far apart, to lessen the danger from German guns, the party left Rheims. At 10 o'clock that night Verdun was reached, after paying a brief visit en route to the headquarters of Gen. Gouraud, commander of the Fourth Army. Like a procession of swift gray ghosts we had run through the dark without lights, while far ahead of us there flashed constantly the flames of discharging guns. Under the lee of the formidable citadel we detrained and made our way to a quiet underground dining hall and a repast as welcome and delectable as any imagination could picture.

While the guns muttered intermittently overhead we slept far below the surface in the officers' quarters—quarters that are never free from a creeping dampness and a certain medieval atmosphere that made the surroundings strangely romantic. Here we met men who had gone through the gruelling defense against the crown prince's furious assaults—men who, by their serenity and matter-of-factness, typified wonderfully the whole atmosphere of France. The commandant of the citadel, youthful, courteous and unassuming, the captain who commanded through the great defense of the city, and the general in command who found a keen pleasure in presenting to each member of the mission the medal of Verdun, and one which he requested should be presented with his compliments to President Gompers, bearing the watchword of the French armies, "They shall not pass"—these were some of the brave men we found in this maze of subterranean passages.

During the forenoon of the next day we inspected Fort Souville, the point at which the German hordes were halted in their assault on Verdun. The Teutonic lines are within easy sight of Souville, which is two and one-half

miles from the citadel itself. Only the eye and the camera can picture the battlefield that rims its way around this point of desperation. It was atop Souville that the French defenders went with their machine guns at the height of the German advance, determined to hold on until they fell, every man believing that death would be his reward. Standing here upon the topmost point we gazed upon a field of giant craters, baffling description—a field upon which 300,000 French and 500,000 Germans have died, a field over which is still strewn the tragic refuse of war. And into these great, ghastly gashes in the bleeding side of France the invader still pours his torturing fire in the vain hope of enthroning the sword as the ruler of mankind.

American Forces Abroad

To the mission, one of the most interesting and inspiring events was their contact with American officers and enlisted men in the Navy and Army. At an unnamed port in Great Britain it was their privilege to meet Admiral Rodman upon his flag ship after passing by the huge grey floating fortresses over which waved the stars and stripes. These American dreadnaughts were a part of our fleet which is acting jointly with the Grand Fleet of Great Britain in keeping the seas clear of the Hun's war ships and merchant bottoms. Our Admiral extended a most cordial welcome and after the formal reception had terminated chatted informally with the members of the group. He expressed his appreciation for the efforts of American workers to build ships, and referred to the pressing necessity for more ships so that our country's resources could be more speedily utilized in bringing the war to a successful termination. Our ships and the blue jackets who manned them looked ready and fit for any emergency which might arise, their appearance giving assurance that Old Glory and all that our flag stands for was safe in their keeping. From the expressions heard at every hand it was evident that the two fleets were cooperating in fact and in spirit and that the most friendly relations existed between the officers and enlisted men. Our own clear-eyed, manly appearing sailors spoke in most enthusiastic terms of the friendly attitude of the British seamen. The high officers of both fleets indicated by their attitude, as well as their words, the deep bond of friendship as well as the common cause which had united them by inseparable bonds. If we refer more extensively to our army in France, it is because of greater opportunity of seeing it in action, and witnessing the preparations which it was making to do its full part, and more, in the battles then being fought and those which were to follow. It was our privilege to meet General Pershing and his staff, but before this, we were given a roadside reception by the fighting colonel of one of our regiments and his men who had just returned from the fighting line, after a battle which had left many of our boys in khaki sleeping beneath the soil they had so gloriously defended.

They had not fought in vain, for over two Huns had been killed for every American. As we stepped from our military automobiles, our boys were drawn up on parade, and while the Stars and Stripes floated over them, a military band stirred the blood with those martial airs which mean so much to Americans. After a brief reception, the Colonel gave the order "break ranks" and in a moment each member of the Mission was the center of as splendid an appearing group of American soldiers as they had ever seen. One thing was speedily impressed upon us—the soldiers admired their colonel—they had confidence in him—they loved him and were eager to follow him wherever he might lead. Clean cut, fresh looking in spite of the battle they had just fought, full of enthusiasm and anxious to get back to the front, they gave the lie to those who had circulated stories at home of the evil ways they had fallen into since leaving American shores. There was not the slightest evidence that any of them had forgotten the lessons of morality or manliness which they had learned at their mother's knee, the fighting spirit which they possessed and their evidence of vitality being sufficient in themselves to indicate that both they and their officers had kept their minds and bodies fit for the work which lay before them.

"Tell the folks at home that they will never be ashamed of us," more than one of our boys said as a last message before we were forced to leave them.

On the road, and in the villages, we saw many of our boys helping a peasant woman by carrying a pail or a bundle, or surrounded by a group of children whom they were entertaining. On every hand we listened to complimentary reference to the attitude which our soldiers had shown toward the civilian population, and the French soldiers' eyes assumed an expression which gave added emphasis to their words as they spoke of their American comrades in arms.

It was towards the end of a strenuous day that we reached a place somewhere in France where General Pershing had established his headquarters. The General surrounded by his Staff formally received the Mission, and then mingled with the group and there followed conversations which will never be forgotten. No descriptions of General Pershing do him full justice—tall, of military figure, full of energy, keen and alert of mind, blue eyes that look at you frankly and penetratingly, square jawed, with smiling lips that almost hide the firm lines they assume at times, he seemed to be the embodiment of America's ideal soldier. The Staff which surrounded him, which included General McAndrews, were also soldiers whose appearance, manner and conversation inspired confidence. After seeing and talking with them we were impressed with the conviction that the mothers in America need have no worry as to the watchful care which would be taken of their boys who had enlisted to fight the battles of humanity so that freedom, justice and democratic institutions might emerge triumphant.

After leaving General Pershing's headquarters, we were taken to the numerous points where the American command was training soldiers to take part in some of the features which were being prepared for future efforts. As to these it is advisable that we should remain silent, but it is permissible to say that everywhere we saw evidences of systematic activities and huge military works carried out on so enormous a scale that it was difficult to grasp the fact that they had been constructed by Americans with American material, since the date when our country entered the war. Everywhere we found whole-souled cooperation between officers and men. It would be difficult to determine whether it was the officers who spoke most highly of the men in the ranks or the soldiers who expressed the most admiration for their officers. We left the American Army with sentiments of confidence and pride, and the conviction that its personnel was fully deserving of the confidence which had been placed in them.

Air Raid Over London

While in London the majority of the Mission witnessed one of the great air raids, which from time to time have been an evidence of the methods of German "Kultur." This raid, participated in by several divisions of Gothas, lasted practically three hours, and resulted in more damage to buildings than to life, though, unfortunately the barbarians carried death to a number. This report is not the place for a description of an air raid, but it may be permissible to say that it constitutes an event which becomes indelibly fixed in the memory of those who pass through it. Warning whistles send the people to the bomb shelters, hundreds of giant searchlights sweep the sky and as the death dealing airships approach the city, battery after battery of anti-aircraft guns fill the heavens with a barrage of exploding, splintering, shrapnel which, after filling the air with deadly effect, descends at last in a shower of jagged fragments most dangerous and often fatal to those who have not sought safe shelter. Colored lights high above signal to the batteries below that the defending airplanes are about to attack the Huns, and in that sector the shrapnel ceases to explode, the report of bursting shells being replaced by the sharp discharge of aerial rapid fire guns. Soon the duel has ceased and again the earth is rocked by the firing of the land batteries. From time to time a dull

muffled roar testifies to the explosion of a bomb, and where this is followed by a red glow, that it was of an incendiary nature. At last horns are blown from rapidly moving volunteer autos which officially inform the citizens that the raid is over. That a heavy injury is inflicted upon the invaders is shown by their heavy losses, seven of their machines having been destroyed in the raid we witnessed. The following day we were taken to a number of places where bombs were dropped, those inspections enabling us to form an idea of their great powers for destruction.

While London has suffered from repeated air raids, Paris also has had its air raids and in addition has been subjected to the particularly gruelling punishment of long range bombardment. We were able to inspect closely much of the damage done by the German 70-mile gun. St. Gervais church built in the twelfth century, was the victim of one of the most destructive shells from this unseen weapon. In this church, a shell fell through the roof upon a throng of worshippers, killing approximately 100. At another point a shell had burst beside a factory wall, killing several girl workers inside. We were interested in learning that it was the falling of this shell through a glass and metal awning that enabled the government's mathematicians to ascertain the exact trajectory and location of the gun. The periodical pounding of the French capitol with this monster cannon impressed us as being one of the most vicious features of Prussian warfare.

Official Receptions

We are justified in saying that no body of civilians at any time have been accorded such receptions as those which were given to the group of American citizens who had crossed the Atlantic to tell the story of America's spirit and what America was doing to hasten the day of deliverance from the threat of Hunnish savagery. They were received by rulers and men who stand out most prominently in the history of the war, and on every occasion when the story of what American trade-unionists were doing, had been related, and their war aims stated, the policy of the American Federation of Labor was given the warmest approval.

The first reception was given by Ambassador Page at the American Embassy in London. The graciousness and cordiality of his welcome gave added pleasure to the occasion and left a most favorable impression upon each member of the group.

At our embassy we were privileged to meet Admiral Sims, who at once made our mission feel that they were talking with a red-blooded, frank, straightforward American. He gave sound advice, some necessary information and indicated a profound interest in the activities of the American Federation of Labor. That evening we again had the pleasure of meeting Admiral Sims at the American Officers' Club where, surrounded by other prominent naval and army officers, a most enjoyable and profitable evening was spent. It is a pleasure to report that in every quarter, we heard high praise for the great work being accomplished under Admiral Sims' energetic directions.

The following day there was a dinner at the House of Commons, which was given by the Right Honorable George Barnes, member of Great Britain's war cabinet and Former General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Many of Britain's most illustrious men were gathered around the tables, their presence being one of the many evidences which were given of the importance attached to the mission's activities. Among those who gave special prestige to the occasion were: Arthur Balfour, Viscount Bryce, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Robert Cecil, Austin Chamberlain, the Earl of Derby, Sir Auckland Geddes, Viscount Milner, Ambassador Page, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir J. Forbes Robertson, Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, naval head of the Admiralty; J. R. Clynes, M. P.; Ben Tillet, M. P.; Rt. Hon. Wm. Brace, M. P.; Rt. Hon. G. H. Roberts, M. P.; Rt. Hon. J. Hodge, M. P.; Rt. Hon. D. J. Wardel, M. P.; and other brilliant, forceful characters, who are now taking a leading part in their country's defense. Shortly afterwards, in an unnamed Northern port,

the party was taken through a long lane of Great Britain's giant dreadnaughts to the grand fleet's flagship on board of which they were received by Admiral Sir David Beatty. In his cabin, the nerve center of the world's greatest Armada, he described some of the fleet's work and activities, spoke with praise of the seamen who manned his ships, and paid a high tribute to the American naval unit, its commander and its sailors. He also expressed his warm appreciation, for the steps taken by the American Federation of Labor to establish the greatest possible degree of cooperation with the American Government in the building of ships. Despite the heavy burdens resting upon him he had found time to inform himself of what the American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers, were doing. It was after this rare opportunity of meeting Great Britain's high admiral that we enjoyed the added honor of being received by our own naval leader, Admiral Rodman and the same day we were entertained in the Admiralty House at a luncheon given by Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, Commander-in-Chief of the naval forces of Scotland.

Returning to London, we were received by Winston Churchill, Minister of Munitions, whose statements in part are referred to in this report under another heading, and afterwards in a most extraordinary manner we were brought together with the representatives of the press of the world at a luncheon in Whitehall Palace, served in the Banquet Hall where Cromwell once held Parliament and from which Charles I. stepped to the scaffold through one of its windows. It was the first time since this historic event over two hundred years ago, that a banquet had been served in this great hall, saturated with the stirring history of the past and today filled with relics of Britain's wars and heroes.

We first touched the soil of France at Havre, where a formal welcome was tendered by the mayor and representatives of the French War Department. Afterward, we were received by the officers of the Belgian Government, whose temporary capitol is now on French soil, and at this official function we had the pleasure of meeting that truly representative American, Brand Whitlock. In Paris we began the official receptions by paying our respects to that distinguished American citizen, Ambassador Sharp. We were then presented to Marshal Joffre at his headquarters, the hero of the Marne, speaking in feeling terms of the reception he had received at the time of his visit to America, and of his affection for the American people. Shortly afterwards, we were received in turn by General Duball, Military Governor of Paris, and the aged veteran, General Niox, Governor of the Invalides, those spacious buildings which, among other points of interest, contain Napoleon's tomb.

The following day, President Poincare formally received the mission in his official residence, taking the opportunity to voice his admiration for President Wilson and the American people and expressing his warm appreciation for the war policy which the American Federation of Labor had adopted. At noon, Monsieur Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave the mission a luncheon at which all members of the French Cabinet were present, and shortly afterwards, the municipal authorities of Paris gave an official welcome in their magnificent Hotel de Ville. From this delightful function, the mission proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies, which for the first time in its history, adjourned in honor of visitors. Premier Clemenceau, the President of the Chamber of Deputies; Paul Duchanel and Antonin Dubost, President of the Senate, mingling with the Senators and Deputies who thronged the reception hall. There were also two unofficial receptions which must be referred to, one given by Mrs. William Astor Chanler, at which many of the most prominent men of the nation were present, and the other by the Volney Club, where a brilliant gathering spent the evening in exchange of opinions.

On returning to London we were received by Lloyd George in the cabinet room, where Britain's energetic Premier plied the members of the Mission with questions in addition to giving most interesting and valuable information.

In spite of the tremendous call upon his energies he seemed surcharged with vitality, and keenly alive to details as well as the larger problems.

A few days afterwards, an invitation was received from their Majesties, King George and Queen Mary, to meet them in Buckingham Palace. After the formalities of the reception had terminated, King George, Queen Mary and Princess Mary spent over an hour in informal conversation with the members of the Mission. The king moved freely from group to group, discussing various phases of the war and surprising the members of the mission by his intimate knowledge of industrial problems and of the leaders in the industrial movement both in Great Britain and abroad. His personal attitude, his wide range of knowledge coupled with his sound and statesmanship grasp of industrial questions and national and international problems, made the event one of extraordinary interest and value, apart from the fact that we were being so highly honored. Queen Mary was most gracious in her attitude and found occasion to converse with each member of the mission, indicating by her conversation a keen and most sympathetic interest in all that was transpiring at home and abroad. The Princess Mary proved to be a most charming and unaffected young lady, unassuming and gentle in her demeanor and charming in her conversation.

At all of these receptions, one or more members of the Labor Mission responded to the welcome extended by referring to the war aims and policies of the American Federation of Labor and giving the reason which had prompted the American trade-unionists to adopt them.

Just before leaving England our Mission again visited the American Embassy to say farewell to Ambassador Page, thank him for the courtesies he had extended and impart some information which perhaps might be of practical value.

As the party gathered in the Railway Station, Lord Northcliffe, who had been confined to his home for several days by sickness and who was still suffering, made his appearance for the purpose of meeting the mission and wishing them a Godspeed on their journey home.

Recommendations

Your mission was authorized to convey to our brothers in the Allied Nations a statement of the American Federation of Labor war aims and policies, and to bring back with them a report of this work, coupled with a statement of their observations. It was not instructed to submit recommendations. It is with some hesitancy therefore, that its members united in placing before you for your serious consideration a recommendation, which if adopted, will inaugurate a new feature in our international relations. As the result of painstaking observations and investigation your mission was impressed with the failure of ordinary official methods of communication to keep the trade-unionists of the Allied Countries sufficiently well informed as to developing tendencies, and the tentative programs which were being considered by many of the leaders, or launched upon the movement by some of its affiliated groups. There is, of course, no difficulty in securing complete statements of all the official aims and policies adopted in conventions or conference by representative trade union bodies. But in the strong currents set in motion as a result of the industrial dislocations due to war time conditions, there is much transpiring of a most vital influence upon our movement, which may not become a matter of official report for months. It is unnecessary to present any lengthy argument for the purpose of making it apparent that if intercommunication is necessary to the welfare of our movement during normal times, it becomes increasingly so during war time, and absolutely essential to the welfare of our movement during such a war as the present world wide conflict, in which not only armies, but industrial movements as well, may prove the determining factor for victory in the final balancing of the scales.

While there exists free intercommunication between the trade union movements of the Allied Nations, this has in our opinion proved insufficient to enable our movement to keep in as close touch with what was transpiring and developing abroad as was essential to our mutual welfare. We, therefore, recommend that during the period of the war, the American Federation of Labor maintain one or more direct representatives in Europe.

Visit to Ireland

During the last few days of our stay a visit to Ireland was arranged for those members of the mission who found themselves free from engagements in London. The party went first to Belfast, crossing the channel from a Scottish port. The stay in Belfast was brief and afforded time only for a luncheon with the Lord Mayor and a hurried inspection of the York Mills and the magnificent Municipal Technical Institute. It is in the York Mills that the linen for the best airplane wings is woven.

From Belfast the party went to Dublin. We reached Dublin at an unfortunate time, the Whitsuntide holidays. Because of this and the lack of time for advance notification, the mission was unable to secure meetings with representatives of the labor movement. An effort to prolong the stay was made, but the sailing time of our homeward-bound vessel made this impossible. We were compelled to leave Ireland with only a hasty impression of the remarkable beauty and possibilities of the country. Fortunately, though, the visit was most brief, it was possible to meet a number of representative Irishmen.

Conclusion

At another point in this report there has been reviewed at length the desire of many leaders, and the declarations of the inter-allied conference, in favor of holding a conference or conversation with representatives of the German workers. It was not deemed wise to add to that section of the report the findings which we wish to record in this paragraph, but these findings should be conveyed to our movement. We were able to learn before leaving Britain that unquestionably the leaders of the German and Austrian trade union and Socialist movements have for some time had full knowledge of the pronouncement of the inter-allied conference of February last and that they have failed to make any statement of their own purposes and have failed to indicate any willingness to enter into any meeting with representatives of allied labor as proposed in the inter-allied declaration. This of itself seems to show clearly the attitude of the German workers and to prove that the entire program for an international conference falls of its own weight.

Throughout Great Britain and France we were impressed with the desire of the people for a closer relationship with America and a better understanding of Americans and American ideals. This desire was constantly expressed with the deepest feeling and at every turn we were made aware of a love for our land and our people and that, we feel, must have its full flower and fruition in a common effort to build a better and nobler civilization upon the foundation we now are fighting side by side to make secure. As Americans we were deeply touched by these expressions of affection so frequently brought to us by representatives of all walks of life. The people of our allies indicated to us a resolve for a partnership of ideal effort and a brotherhood of spirit that shall last for all time, utilizing to the full the opportunities that shall be ours in common through democracy made safe from attack by scientific despotism and brutality.

It was their thought that as we fight together today to maintain our freedom, so we must work and learn and build together when our armies and navies have opened the way to a resumption of peaceful pursuits.

So generous and heartfelt was the cordiality with which we were received by our brothers of Britain and France, so genuine were the constant expressions of friendship and brotherhood in labor's cause, that we find it a keen delight to here declare the pleasure with which we accepted these tributes to the American Trade Union movement.

We felt constantly that it was as representatives of the American Federation of Labor that these attentions were shown us and these pledges of friendship given. We bring back to our movement the word of these evidences, expressing here but feebly the spirit with which we were met everywhere.

No matter what differences as to questions of trade union tactics we found, there was at all times a gratifying affection shown for the American trade union movement and a real and deep-seated desire for permanent mutual effort in achieving the common goal of enlightened trade unionism.

On behalf of our movement we expressed to our brothers our appreciation of the kindness shown us, but we must add here what we said then, that we shall trust to our deeds rather than our words to demonstrate what lies deepest in the hearts of the American workers.

We wish to add, also, an expression of thanks to the military and naval officers of allied nations who were our painstaking guides on all expeditions to war making establishments and to the fleets and battle-fronts. It was their kindness and forethought, often exercised under the most trying circumstances, that enabled us to bring back so complete a picture of the war and its magnitude and meaning.

Our whole endeavor while abroad was to present the war policy of the American Federation of Labor as it is found in the official records. This was done in private conversation, in conference, in public meetings and in statements to the press.

We gave the record from the beginning, describing first the conference of trade union officials held in Washington, March 12, 1917, nearly a month before America entered the war, at which time the leaders pledged themselves to the support of the government "in peace or in war." We explained that this action was necessary because there was not time for a regular convention to meet the situation. We described the industrial difficulties which arose following the declaration of a state of war and the conferences held with government representatives, through which adjustments satisfactory to labor were reached.

It was with special pride that we described to our brothers across the sea the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which President Wilson came to pay high tribute to labor's fidelity, and in which, as we repeated on every occasion, every question of labor war policy was determined by unanimous vote.

We recounted the various steps that had been taken in promotion of the proposal that representatives of organized labor should sit with the government plenipotentiaries around the table at which peace terms are to be drawn. But we proclaimed with vigor at every opportunity the determination of the American trade union movement not to be drawn into any conference or conversation with German representatives of any kind while Prussian militarism remains a menace to freedom and democracy, and while the armies of that despotism remain on the soil of France and Belgium.

During our stay abroad the position of the American Federation of Labor was not only carried to the labor movements in Britain and France, but was in fact laid before the world, due to the prominence given our mission. Moreover, we left for home with the definite knowledge that our declarations had penetrated into Germany and Austria with sufficient depth to give to large sections of those countries a knowledge of the spirit and determination of the American trade union movement.

It is fair to assume, in the light of this knowledge, that at least the German and Austrian leaders of a misguided population know that in America the workers understand that the barrier between us and them has been raised by their own actions and must be destroyed by the Teutonic people themselves or by the weight of our armed forces before there can be any discussion with them relating to peace or international fellowship.

We arrived at an Atlantic port and immediately got into long distance communication with President Gompers and arranged to be in conference with him at the Executive Council room of the A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. At 10 o'clock Saturday morning, June 1, the mission met in conference with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, with the officers of the various departments and other labor men and women in Washington, where we were welcomed and greeted and an informal general survey of our observations was given. Arrangements having been made, the mission, together with President Gompers and Secretary Morrison had a conference with President Wilson in the White House at three o'clock Saturday afternoon, June 1, lasting 45 minutes. A general exchange of views ensued, the President expressing his great appreciation and gratitude for the service the mission had performed.

We cannot find words to express the gratitude and admiration which came to us not only from the interview itself, but the simplicity and the democracy of the President's manner, the frankness with which he addressed us, the evident keenness of his mind, the clarity of his expressions and the modesty of his entire demeanor and personality.

In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been importuned to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the Executive Council, and we trust and hope through the E. C. to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES WILSON, *Chairman*,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
WILLIAM SHORT,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
MELINDA SCOTT,
AGNES NESTOR,
WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
JOHN P. FREY, *Secretary*,
CHESTER M. WRIGHT, *Asst. Secy.*

The Committee on International Relations' report made this recommendation to the convention and it was unanimously adopted:

One of the recommendations contained in the report of our delegates who visited Great Britain and France is the following:

"We therefore recommend that during the period of the war the American Federation of Labor maintain one or more direct representatives in Europe."

Your committee has carefully considered this recommendation and fully realizes the significance and importance of the movement in this direction. We have, moreover, also considered what effect such a representation may have upon the various groups of the workers of Europe and believing that the Executive Council being in full possession of up-to-date information should be the judges as to the advisability of compliance with this recommendation, we there-

fore refer the recommendation to the Executive Council with authority for such action as it may deem advisable under the circumstances.

An additional recommendation by the Labor Mission to Great Britain and France referred to your committee is as follows:

"In addition to the great respect and admiration manifested on every hand for President Gompers, both from the representatives of the masses of labor with whom we came in contact, as well as the representatives of the governments of Great Britain and France, we have been importuned to urge upon him a visit to those countries at the earliest possible time. We therefore recommend to the Executive Council, and we trust and hope through the E. C. to the convention, that President Gompers be authorized and requested to undertake such a mission at an early date and before the close of this year."

Your committee is of the opinion that a compliance on the part of President Gompers with this suggestion and request upon the part of the government, the people and the labor movements of Great Britain and France would be of inestimable value to not only the peoples of these two countries, but to our own as well. We therefore recommend that President Gompers be instructed and is hereby authorized to proceed to Europe at the earliest time consistent with the duties and obligations here, and his own judgment and convenience.

With this understanding your committee concurs in the recommendation and recommends its adoption.

AMERICAN LABOR MISSION TO MEXICO

Convention at St. Paul, June, 1918, unanimously adopted this report made by the American Labor Commission to Mexico:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

In submitting our report to you, we are reporting the essential things as we have found them existing in Mexico, and call attention to the fact that on account of lack of time and lack, at the present moment, of authentic national records in the Mexican labor movement, we are compelled to, in many cases, make general statements rather than technically and numerically exact statements. The existing movement in Mexico, while comparatively large, is to a large extent an aggregation of local syndicates and groups of syndicates, some of individual trades, some of industrial groups, and others resembling our federal labor unions.

We received our passports on May 13, 1918, and after thoroughly discussing the entire matter of the Pan-American Federation and the existing conditions as far as we know them with President Gompers, we called on the Mexican Ambassador, Mr. Bonillas, who vised our passports and also advised regarding many angles of the existing situation. Ambassador Bonillas expressed his enthusiasm as to the necessity and possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and the tremendous moral forces that might result therefrom, regarding international relations between North America and the Latin American countries. He pointed out that there had never been a time more opportune than the present, for the setting up of this international machinery. He urged us to call on the Governor of Coahuila, at Saltillo, on our way to Mexico City, as this Governor and his associates had demonstrated their interest and sympathy for the organized workers to the extent of assisting in the calling of a national convention of labor, which had

been convened at Saltillo, and had laid the basis of a National Federation of Labor for Mexico.

We crossed the border at Laredo, on May 18, and were very kindly assisted in the exchanging of money, dealing with the customs officers, etc., by Mr. Tomas Pineiro, General Superintendent of the northern division of the National Railway of Mexico. We heartily appreciated this assistance from Mr. Pineiro, as we were very much crowded for time, and it is very difficult to negotiate an excursion into Mexico at this particular time.

We arrived in Saltillo Saturday night, May 19. On Sunday we met representatives of the local labor movement, who informed us of the work of the recent convention held there. At this convention representation was as follows:

Coahuila

The Federation of Trades Unions of Saltillo; the Railway Workers' Union; Machinists' Union of Mexico; Co-operative Mutual Union; Agricultural Syndicates; Firemen and Machinists of Coahuila; Common Laborers' Union of Coahuila; Miners' Union Syndicate of Mexico (representing 13 syndicates).

Torreon

Industrial Workers' Committee; Industrial Textile Workers' Union; Smeltermen's Industrial Union (3 locals); Textile Workers' Union (5 locals); Electrical Workers' Union; Carpenters' Union; Department of Railway Employees; Chauffeurs' Union of Mexico; Iron Smelters' Union; Common Laborers' Union of Torreon (male and female). Miners' Union of Torreon (3 locals); Machinists' Helpers of Mexico.

Monterey

Smeltermen's Union (3 locals); Painters and Decorators of Mexico; Motormen and Conductors' Union; Common Laborers' Union.

Durango

Grand Miners' Union; Miners' Union No. 7.

Tamaulipas

Carpenters and Joiners' General Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial; Bricklayers' Syndicate; Federal Labor Union of Female Workers; Federal Labor Union of Male Workers.

Nuevo Laredo

Carpenters and Joiners; Federal Labor Union; Tin Workers' Union; Laborers' Union; Female Labor Union.

San Louis Potosi

Miners' Union (5 locals); Shoemakers' Union.

Aguaascalientes

Federal Labor Union; Federation of Syndicates.

Zacatecas

Machinists and Electricians' Union; Laborers' League; Workingmen's Chamber of Unions.

Michoacan

Federation of Syndicates; Society of Unification of Indian Labor; Agricultural Syndicate No. 3.

Jalisco

Federal Labor Union; Machinists' and Electricians' Union; Casa del Obrero Mundial.

Guanahuata

Miners' Union No. 44.

Queretaro

Labor Union Syndicate; Textile Workers' Union.

Hidalgo

Laborers' Federal Union; Federation of Unions.

The Agricultural Workers of Mexico; Mexican District Federal Union; Machinists and Electricians' Union; Printing Trades; Railway Employes; Free Laborers' Union; Executive of the Miners' Unions of Mexico; Building Trades; Street Railway Union; General Order of Railroad Workers of Mexico; Bakers' Union; Restaurant Employes, and a few other unions, all of Mexico City, did not send representatives, giving as a reason that they were suspicious of the motives, and feared it might be a political game, as it was called by the governor of the state of Coahuila. The same position was taken by the Orizaba miners and other unions of that city, and the workers in Vera Cruz, Tampico, the state of Sonora, Tlaxcala, the Federation of Textile Syndicates of Pueblo, representing 32 factories, and the Workingmen's League of Agricultural Workers of Yucatan.

The Saltillo convention declared in favor of a national federation, and elected three executive secretaries, instructing them to get in touch with all trade and labor unions with a view of launching the Mexican Federation of Labor.

We feel that the call for the Saltillo convention is of such an original character, being sent out by the Governor of a state, that we are embodying this document in our report.

The Acting Governor of the State of Coahuila called a convention of all the labor organizations of the Republic of Mexico. The call reads as follows:

"Pursuant to Article XXIII of the Constitutional Congress of the independent, free, and sovereign state of Coahuila of Zaragoza, it is decreed:

"Article One. The executive of the state is authorized to organize and call a labor congress to be held in this city on the following basis:

"I. Under this decree we call upon all the labor associations of the Republic to elect their representatives and to be present at a national labor congress which will meet in this city.

"II. The national labor congress shall study and discuss the problems that may affect chiefly Mexican workers, with absolute exclusion of every matter of religious and political character.

"III. Each labor association shall be represented by a delegate.

"IV. The period of the sessions of said congress shall last twelve days and will be inaugurated the next first of May.

"V. The election of the chairman and directors, the report of

credentials, and all of the matters pertaining to the interior regime of the congress shall be determined by the proper congress assembly.

"VI. To the end that all the discussions and resolutions passed by this congress be known all over the nation, it shall be given publicity together with the daily debates.

"Article Two. The executive of the state is also authorized to pay the expenses of the organizations and holding of such labor congress as may be required."

Signed in Saltillo on July, 1918, by General Bruno Neira, Acting Governor of the State of Coahuila.

The Governor of Coahuila was seriously ill with a fever that is prevalent there at this time, and was unable to see us personally, but sent Professor Jose Rodrigues Gonzales, speaker of the House in the State Legislature, and Rafael Quintero, Chief of the Department of Public Works, to call on us and convey his greetings. We found them very democratic and highly interested in the question of labor in Mexico. They believe that Mexican labor has now its golden opportunity for complete, thorough organization on constructive, progressive lines, and were enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Pan-American Federation of all the Americans. They urged us to address some public meetings in Saltillo, as did the workers' representatives, but after considering the matter, we felt that as we were from a belligerent country, and Mexico a neutral country, our proper course was to first go to Mexico City, pay our visit to President Carranza and other public officials first, and then outline a program, which they agreed with. We promised to come back to Saltillo, if time would permit.

We left Saltillo on Monday night and arrived in Mexico City on Wednesday morning. We went to the American Embassy, met Ambassador Fletcher, explained the object of our mission and together went over the existing situation. Ambassador Fletcher gave us some interesting and valuable information regarding the present status in Mexico, and heartily approved of our mission and plans. He took us to call on President Carranza, who received us very courteously. President Carranza listens carefully and speaks deliberately, and after a comprehensive discussion he appeared convinced of the power for good a Pan-American International of Labor Centers would be, and wished us every success. We next called on the Secretary of War, Pablo Gonzales. Here again we were treated very courteously. We explained, as we had to President Carranza, the purposes of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, and also, in reply to his questioning, the voluntary plan of action generally prevailing in North America in the organized fields, and the joint relations, mutually agreed to, existing in the various industries, including the War Labor Board and its contemplated scope. We also called on the Secretary of the Bureau of Labor, and the Bureau of Mines, but found, that while we were cordially received, and they were much interested in all the information we gave them regarding our Department of Labor and Bureau of Mines, they are only just feeling their way as yet, and are unable to work in a comprehensive way on account of lack of funds, no adequate appropriation having as yet been made for these institutions. They have done very little in the way of compiling statistics and are at present getting what information they can, regarding methods, etc., from the American Federation of Labor and the Federal Departments of the United States.

From the time we arrived in Mexico City, representatives of groups of workers began to come to our rooms to discuss the situation. When

the object of our visit was explained to them, they in every case, expressed themselves in favor of it. We met the representatives of the Federation of Syndicates of Mexico City, and explained fully the object of our mission. We told them that we were not there to assume to tell them how or on what basis they should be organized, that each national movement in the Pan-American Federation would determine its own plans, ideas and methods, that the Pan-American Federation could never be anything other than a voluntary association of national labor centers, and therefore no affiliated movement could dominate or force its will on others. We, on being questioned, explained the structure and methods of the American Federation of Labor, its trade and industrial unions, departments and co-operative federations. They all, to the most radical, agreed that their most urgent need at this time was national unity, wherein trades and industries could function in the largest and most effective way. They realize that a vast aggregation of local syndicates acting independently does not bring the results that a closer affiliation would, and in fact is only one step beyond individual bargaining. Many who were suspicious that we might be there to try to change their revolutionary (?) methods, to methods they thought existed in the United States of the North, ended their arguments by appealing to us to go through the industrial centers and mining fields and organize the syndicates into a national movement such as we enjoyed. We always told them that we would help and advise them in every way we could, and were desirous of seeing them occupying the strongest economic position, through national organizations and a national federation, but we could only help, advise and exchange experiences with them, and that their movement must be a Mexican movement, set up by their own efforts and will. They then arranged a larger meeting of the representatives of all unions that could be reached for the following Wednesday night. This meeting was held in the Bakers' Hall, and was crowded to the limit. We adhered to the same program, answered all questions, and refused to in any way discuss the war in any of its phases. The result was unanimous expression in favor of the Pan-American Federation again. A large public mass-meeting was then agreed on, to be held in one of the large theaters the following Sunday. In the meantime we had been and were the storm center of a most vicious campaign of German propaganda. This propaganda started at the time we crossed the border and we occupied the front pages of the most prominent newspapers of Mexico every day and several times a day, and presume we are still being so honored. Fortunately, this campaign was not as intelligent as it was industrious, and the gross exaggerations, vilifications and silly lies all reacted in our favor, and helped our work. We were called strike-breakers, jingoos, were accused on the front pages and editorially of being there in the interests of the brutal allies, and our object was to force peace-loving Mexico to fight her good friend, Germany, on the side of the thief and murderer, America. Accounts appeared in these papers of America stealing Texas, Arizona and California from Mexico. One of the leading papers of Mexico, "El Demócrata," is a morning paper, is not Pro-German, but German. It is owned by a group of Germans, and is sold as the "German paper." The same group get out an evening paper called "Nacionalista." The editorials, while we were there were attacking us and preaching syndicalism. An anarchist or syndicalist editorial appeared daily. The workers were warned against the blandishments of these "yanquis" and told that in syndicalism rested the only hope of the oppressed worker. Other papers, commonly said to

be subsidized by Germany, hammered at us with somewhat less venom. Excelsior and Universal, the only papers in Mexico that dare to give any justification to the allied cause, gave complete and accurate reports of the meetings. These papers are fighting for their existence and are up against a strong force. We collected clippings from all these papers, and they are very interesting reading. In addition to the front page headlines and editorials, they got out special bulletins on account of us, and posted them on the buildings of the principal streets of Mexico City. They got every important statement we made and either distorted it or reversed it, even when our statements were made in the most open and public manner. If we said the workers of America had not surrendered the right to strike they would edit the statement "the yankees exposed," "they admit that the A. F. of L. has forbidden the workers from striking for the war period." On the heels of this would appear a condemnation of us for driving and compelling our membership to go into the state militias. Their editorials and articles were a continual bid for something to happen.

On Saturday, it was discovered that the Germans had forbidden the management from letting the mass-meeting be held there on Sunday, and the committee on arrangements was so informed. They immediately leased another theater, in as good a location, and before we arrived it was filled, including the three galleries, and this in spite of the fact that on Sunday morning an article appeared in El Pueblo to the effect that a free lottery was to take place in some theater, at the same time as our meeting, and free tickets would be circulated for the drawing of two thousand pesos, divided into large and small amounts. The working people, as the government, are in financial straits, and we shall not soon forget these men and women, packing our meeting ahead of time, and the splendid ovation they tendered us. Time will not permit a recital of all the clumsy, false, foolish and laughable efforts of this division of Germania to upset our work. As far as the workers were concerned, they finally drove all the doubters over to us. Our Sunday meeting was the greatest success of all, and there was some measure of satisfaction in seeing the stolid faces of the El Demócrata group occupying the nearest box to the stage. Their creatures were scattered through the audience, but were well known, and were refused the floor because they did not represent any of the syndicates. One man who had been occupying the stage near the box in which the El Demócrata group were seated, a member of a union, got recognition at the close of our addresses and repeated the charges that El Demócrata had been making that we had again stated that the A. F. of L. had forbidden strikes, that we were helping in the persecution of the I. W. W. martyrs in jail in Chicago; etc. He was laughed and hissed down by the audience. This meeting being on June the second, we had to arrange to leave on Monday morning, June 3, and John Murray remained to attend a meeting called for Wednesday, the 5th, at which meeting the matter of sending delegates to the St. Paul Convention would be discussed. It is hardly likely they will do this on account of lack of time, and the great distance.

There are probably half a million workers organized in Mexico, in the syndicates and federations of syndicates. The only industries that approach nationalism, so far as we could learn, are the miners, textile workers and railroad workers. There are approximately fifty thousand miners in the state of Coahuila alone, and the miners at Coahuila, Torreon and Durango are getting together in some kind of a national fed-

eration. There are unions through all the mining fields of Mexico. It is hard to get authentic figures from the different districts, owing to the long distances and lack of national and district unity. But these local organizations are active and operating in their own way, each syndicate making demands, settlements, or striking independently, which we are inclined to believe often has a demoralizing effect on both operations and workers. The hard rock miners of Pachuca and Elora, near Mexico City, are organized, about 22,000 in both camps. We were told by a mine manager that the managements had given up fighting the unions, and were now hoping for some steadying influence to appear, whereby equitable agreements could be negotiated by localities or districts that would insure some measure of industrial peace at least during the life of such agreements. He told us that recently they had been compelled to close down their mill for repairs, which automatically closed the mine. The syndicate demanded the wage for this period of idleness, claiming that machinery and ore could very well wait a week, but their stomachs could not. He was compelled to grant their demands. He admitted that wages were too low, but said that if the unions were to go into negotiations in a business-like way with the companies, with a view of establishing a joint agreement for the district regarding wages, conditions, and the machinery for peacefully handling disputes, a much better wage and working situation could be arrived at. We cite this instance because we found considerable of this sentiment among employers and others who have probably not been too considerate of the conditions of toil heretofore. Most of the underground men in this instance were only receiving \$1.25 Mexican. As the cost of living is far higher in Mexico than in the United States, it is impossible for men, women and children to enjoy even the common necessities of life at this wage. Wages are somewhat higher in the coal fields. This is room and pillar mining, both pick and machine, with machine mining on the increase. Many of the mines in Coahuila are very gaseous, the Wolff lamp exclusively being used. Miners are paid by the ton or car. It is mostly contract work. Drivers, timbermen, tracklayers, etc., are paid from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day, Mexican. They have the universal eight-hour day in all mines in Mexico. The textile operatives are on piece work, are well organized and are trying to establish a minimum wage in the industry. There is a sharp division of opinion as to whether this should be done by law or by organized effort. The attitude of the government has in some localities not been too friendly, and strikes have been suppressed and peaceable parades forbidden, and this is causing much concern regarding the theory of state regulation. All employes in and around the mills are, like the miners, organized into one union. The operatives at Puebla were striking while we were in Mexico, demanding an 80 per cent advance in wages, and improvements in working conditions. They were offered a 60 per cent advance, and the congressman from this district informed us that he felt they would get together in an amicable settlement in a few days. The cooks and waiters have one of the strongest organizations in Mexico City, and maintain good headquarters. They have complete organization, as have the street railwaymen. The street railwaymen are handicapped since their last strike, the authorities having forbidden them from striking. This attitude on the part of the authorities is likely to lead to serious trouble, if persisted in, as declaring strikes illegal does not prevent them from happening. The Building Trades in Mexico City are not so well organized as in other cities, probably on account of govern-

ment pressure. We were informed that in Vera Cruz, Tampico, Puebla and Orizaba they were well organized, and in some cases the wage rate is from \$5 to \$7 gold. This is the highest wage we heard of.

We were invited to attend a session of the Senate, which was in session, considering the bill requiring the secret ballot for the voters of Mexico. This bill had passed the Lower House, which had adjourned. We met several Senators from mining and manufacturing states, all of whom expressed a desire to see the workers of Mexico thoroughly and efficiently organized on a national basis. They offered to co-operate in any way they could to bring this about. They were also considering a Federal compensation law at this session.

We learned before leaving the city that the provision for the secret ballot had passed the Senate.

The Mexican workers have a close fellowship feeling and sympathy with the French and their method of organization. It must be borne in mind that they were denied freedom of action or thought for ages, and when the revolution gave them their opportunity for action, they were at the mercy of syndicalists, and professional men who had become ultra-radical by reading. When we asked them if they had not read Herve's repudiation of syndicalism, some said it might be a trick of capitalism, and one man said that this was not the first time that twelve months in prison had changed a man's mind. They evidently could not understand how a beautiful theory like syndicalism could be repudiated. At the same time there are many clear-thinking men and women who realize that their movement is not bringing results, and are strongly of the opinion that they must unite on a plan similar to ours. This is the preponderance of feeling we found expressed in and out of the meetings and conferences. Santiago Iglesias is well known among them, as he is known in all Latin American countries. He is conversant with their history and wrongs, speaks their language, and succeeds in bringing the most radical to agree with him on program and methods. He was strongly urged, as were all of us, to hold meetings throughout Mexico. He represents to them a line of thought and action they have not heretofore understood or applied. He convinced them of the possibility of doing that which has not yet been done, organizing a national federation of labor, composed of national, self-governing unions.

It may seem to some of us strange that this idea did not occur to them first, but their opportunity came to them comparatively recently, and Mexico is decidedly a country of localities and local viewpoint. The feeling that has animated the local labor movements is now ripe for being molded into a national and international direction. We have repeatedly told them that it is not our purpose to instruct them, but rather to help, assist and co-operate with them in any reasonable manner within our power. They realize that co-operation and helpfulness from the north will be fully assured in a general way and more available, by their participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In the building of a verile, intelligently organized national labor movement in Mexico we see their greatest opportunity and guarantee for democracy. When the workers intelligently respect themselves, they compel respect from society as a whole. We feel confident that this can be done; if their opportunity is lost, the workers of Mexico face an unhappy future. It is our undivided opinion that with the setting up of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in working order, the closer relations that will exist and the better opportunity for understanding each other's viewpoint and problems, the economic future of the toilers of Mexico, Central and South America, can be placed on a happier and securer basis.

We have here portrayed the essential facts as we have found them, in consonance with the time and opportunity we have had. We extend our sincere appreciation to the A. F. of L. of the trust reposed in us in our being selected for this important mission.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES LORD, *Chairman*
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS
JOHN MURRAY, *Secretary*

American Federationist, July, 1916

LIBERTY'S HOPE IS IN THY KEEPING, ORGANIZED LABOR (EDITORIAL)

There is being enacted just across our border line in a neighbor republic a tremendous struggle for human freedom, a struggle inspired by ideals of those who long dreamed of human freedom and have come to value it lightly because they have been denied the reality. America's workers have an interest in the affairs of Mexico—an interest that is concerned with something bigger than political changes, for political changes do not always indicate progress towards justice.

Because this struggle in Mexico represents a cause that is as big and as wide and as comprehensive as the cause of human freedom, it has a very strong appeal for the workers of the United States whose every advance and betterment has been part of a world-old struggle for freedom and humanity.

The changes now in progress of making in Mexico are deeper and more significant than a mere political revolution; they are an economic revolution. The fundamental problem of injustice in Mexico is economic in origin. Those who know and understand the force of the industrial ties that unite Mexico and the United States know that there is no boundary line between the industrial problems of the workers of the two countries. This is true not only because of the over-lapping of the interests of the employers of the two countries, but because of the intermingling and the blending of the workers of the two countries.

It is conservatively estimated that there are within the United States two million Mexican workers. There are Mexican laborers in Texas, Mexican coal miners in Colorado and New Mexico, and Mexican gold miners in New Mexico and Colorado. There are Mexican trade unionists in the building trades of the Pacific Coast.

All the world knows the bravery, the loyalty and determination of the Mexican miners who helped to win the recent strike in Clifton, Arizona. It is not so well known that previous to the termination of the former agreement between the anthracite miners and coal operators of Pennsylvania there was an effort made to bring Mexicans into our country to defeat the demands of coal miners, hoping thereby to reduce standards and defeat the plans of the anthracite miners. The Deering Harvester Company recently brought in Mexicans to be used as strike-breakers against their men who were then making demands for higher wages and better conditions of work.

There must be understanding and co-operation between the workers of Mexico and the United States in order that neither may permit themselves to be used for the undoing of all. Many of the Mexican workers who are now within our border lines have already united in the cause of organized labor. Since the present effort to overthrow despotism in Mexico has been in progress there has been a determined effort in that country to organize the workers for

their mutual protection and to secure for them rights and opportunities that will result in freedom.

The workers and the revolutionary forces in Mexico, as did Madero, knew the efforts which the American Federation of Labor put forth in the overthrow of the tyrant Diaz so that when the Madero government was established in power, there went into Mexico a committee representing the United Mine Workers of America. This committee secured from Madero endorsement of the organized labor movement and promise of protection and co-operation in efforts to organize the miners of Mexico. The Madero era marked a new period in the labor movement of Mexico. What was declared under Madero has been carried out and on a broader scale under the present constitutionalist government.

The workers are not over-concerned with political factions or wedded to any political leader, but they are concerned with securing co-operation that will enable them to advance the cause of freedom and humanity.

When Carranza became first chief of the constitutionalist government of Mexico, he entered into agreements with the organized labor movement of the country and promised that trade unions would be protected under the laws of Mexico and that workers would be assured opportunities and rights. In return for these pledges, which were officially announced by the government in the form of manifestos and circulated generally throughout the country, the organized labor movement of Mexico gave its support to the Constitutional government and united with that government in an effort to solve the problems of the citizens of Mexico and to work out government and laws that would establish industrial, social and political justice.

Because the workers of Mexico through their organized labor movement appealed to the organized labor movement of the United States we tried to secure to them the opportunity to work out their own problems in accord with their own ideals and their own understanding.

With the political issues and political factions of Mexico the American labor movement has no vital concern, but it has a deep abiding interest in the growth and progress of the cause of Labor in Mexico, and it desires to do all that can be done in a spirit of fraternity and co-operation. The American labor movement recognizes that in the organization of the Mexican workers there lies an element of great hope, for there is a force that has power to shape a great future for a people capable of conceiving great ideas and an understanding of the possibilities which human life can attain when given opportunities and freedom.

The labor movement of Mexico has dared to assert that there is something infinitely higher than property rights and the mere forms of established law and order. They have proclaimed to the world that they wish to establish a government in which human rights shall be paramount and land and property shall be made to serve mankind.

But the labor movement of our country knows that freedom can not be given as a gift; it must be achieved by all as they work out their life problems—democracy and free institutions may be suddenly established, but their maintenance rests upon constant and persistent determination, for in Mexico, as in all the world, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. They must be the result of the experiences of the people who have learned how to be free and how to use institutions of freedom. In learning these things those who have been long held in despotic government make many mistakes, but those of us who have had larger opportunities for freedom must have patience with the mistakes of those who are just learning. We know that the lesson can not be learned by interposing dictation from an outside judgment, either from a dictator among their own people or from super-imposing the judgment of an outside country.

Because of the desire of America's workers to be helpful to fellow-workers of Mexico, a suggestion was made to the organized labor movement of Mexico to send representatives to meet with representatives of the A. F. of L. in conference in El Paso, Texas, in the near future. This suggestion has met with most cordial and enthusiastic acceptance from the labor organizations of Mexico, and that the conference will be held there is no doubt. It is hoped that the outcome of this conference will bring tremendous impetus and inspiration to the cause of humanity both within Mexico and the United States. If such a conference can result in the betterment of humanity and imposing a check upon those forces that desire to exploit human beings for their own aggrandizement, there will be given to the world a note of inspiration that will be in a great measure somewhat in the nature of compensation for the miserable failure of our hopes and plans seen in the present European war.

And who knows but out of that meeting may come a larger conference in which there shall be represented the workers' organization of all the countries making up this great America of ours, a Pan-American Federation of Labor, that shall make not only this great power for internal and international right, justice and welfare, but shall help in the establishment of a broad international labor movement of the whole world, and that the international parliament of man for which philosophers have dreamed and poets have sung, and which it is the mission of the workers to establish, shall be realized.

American Federationist, August, 1916

UNITED STATES—MEXICO—LABOR—THEIR RELATIONS

The recent conference held in Washington between representatives of the Mexican Labor movement and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was the inevitable result of fundamental forces that have been drawing the workers of the two countries more closely together and making them realize that the problems of the Mexican worker were the problems of the workers of the United States.

The interests that the workers of the two countries have in common are basic—wages, hours of labor and conditions of work. Our other interests touch because all are the outgrowth of economic needs and aspirations that grow out of them.

The economic interests of the workers follow the country's expansion industrially and commercially. The development of material civilization, and more extensive utilization of natural resources to the westward brought the workers of our country in contact with the workers of Mexico both within their country and in the southwest.

The boundary line between Mexico and the United States is an artificial division and has no relation to industrial needs or commercial exchange. There are rich copper mines part in New Mexico, U. S. A., and part in Sonora, Mexico. They are one and the same, even though they are under political jurisdiction of the two countries. But what was a boundary between the copper mine operators of the Mexican and the American States? When confronted by demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions in New Mexico, the mine operators called across the border line and Mexican miners came to take the places of the Americans. Internationalization of capital has made necessary the internationalization of the labor movement.

In Mexico, law and governmental policy formerly forbade workers to organize and thus deprived them of the only means by which they could fight their way to greater liberty. The right to free assemblage, free speech were under the ban.

Distance was no barrier to the coal and gold mine operators of Colorado who wished to use unsuspecting Mexican miners in order to maintain their domination over the lives of the miners of Colorado.

Reports of better conditions in the United States came across the border line to the workers of Mexico. Into the border states came workers who had been denied by governmental authorities and Mexican employers an appreciation of their rights or the possibilities to which they ought to aspire. Conditions had stultified Mexican laborers. They were not fully conscious of the wrongs done to themselves or the injury that they did to American workers by undermining existing standards and conditions. The Mexican government and laws were brutalizing.

But here and there came a glimmering and suggestion of common interest, a longing, an understanding that Mexican workers too might have the freedom that ought to obtain under a republican form of government. Not only did the Mexican government exploit the workers but it despoiled the whole nation of its national birthright. The natural resources of the country, the land itself, were taken from the natives and citizens of Mexico and given over to foreign exploiters. The great money interests of the whole world gathered to prey upon helpless Mexico. Foreigners who had in some way secured the favor of the ruling power were given rich lands or mines. Even possessions were taken from the natives and only the tyrannical, corrupt government received any compensation paid in exchange.

The Trusts of our country fastened their tentacles upon Mexico. The Standard Oil Company found its purposes opposed by the Pearson Oil Company of England. The Hearsts and the Otises took possession of great tracts of country, so large that they were rich principalities. The copper barons extended their holdings in order to maintain their monopoly control. Wall Street was interested in "developing" the country.

When the revolution came against Diaz seventy-five per cent of the wealth and capital of Mexico was held by foreign owners. This meant that the masses of the nation had been exploited. They were united in the uprising against governmental despotism and the tyranny and inhumanity of the trusts, for the American trusts were even more unscrupulous and consciousnessless in their Mexican policies than they have been in the United States. In the United States they have been held in check in some degree by the fact that the people have a better understanding of their rights and freer opportunities for action.

Before the Revolution

It is difficult to exaggerate the tyranny, the oppression and the ruthlessness that prevailed in Mexico under the Diaz regime. United protest came in the revolution under Madero, which represented the yearnings of the people and their protests against injustice. It was a revolt of a united people who had been despoiled of their political rights as well as of their property and opportunities.

The Mexican people are made up of many bloods. They have most perplexing race problems, yet all were united in determination to overthrow the Diaz government.

Mexicans are dreamers, idealists of many kinds. Those who are students have come under the influence of the theories of Spain and Italy. Those whose opportunities have been less generous have dreams of other kinds. In this philosophy of life, beauty and artistic values are of great importance—of greater importance than quantity of production or intricate industrial organization. This philosophy would use products for the service of men—and life as something larger and more wonderful than a competitive struggle for large fortunes. This is the fundamental philosophy the Mexican people are struggling to establish—a purpose akin to the highest idealism of the French Revolution. The cosmopolitan nature of the people and the diversity of ideals

made the constructive period that followed the revolution difficult and uncertain. There was no general plan, no common understanding. Idealists and leaders were attempting to take their followers along different plans. They united against a common enemy but could not agree upon constructive measures. Madero became the head of the government. He was an idealist who had understanding and sympathy for the needs of the workers. Under him they had their first real opportunities for organization. He not only gave them the opportunity to organize and hold meetings, but gave them advantages and assistance in carrying out the work of organization. There had been some few efforts at organization among the tobacco workers who came in contact with organized fellow trades from Key West, Cuba, Porto Rico, maritime workers and railway workers.

Out of the Mexican revolution there has come one tremendously important result that is fundamental and therefore will be permanent. It is the Mexican organized labor movement.

During the time of Diaz, to strike was a political offense. Labor "agitators" and those who were seeking better conditions for wage-earners were treated as criminals. They were hounded within their own country and followed if they fled across the border line into the United States and the governmental machinery of both countries was used to place behind prison bars those who tried to give efforts for the betterment of themselves and their fellow-workers.

Individuals in the American labor movement who had encountered either Mexican fugitive labor organizers (so-called revolutionists) or who had been forced to see the danger to American workers through the masses of Mexican workers, who, because of their enforced low standards and their lack of information, were the agency by which American employers hoped to club their workers into submission, began to appreciate how closely the problems and welfare of the workers of the two countries were identified.

It was not the fault of the Mexican workers that they were pawns in the hands of employers. It was their lack of opportunity and information. That opportunity came as the result of years of agitation. Many a leader on both sides of the border had battled in vain against organized tyranny and oppression but there was not an effort that was without influence. Out of it all there came the hope that freedom could be achieved.

Whatever progress has come is due in a great measure to those who dreamed and struggled and suffered and went to jail for freedom—many nameless in history now dead and forgotten, but living in the results of their work.

The Revolution

In addition to this growing conviction among Mexican wage-earners other groups were driven into the work of revolution. Practically the whole nation had been despoiled of its birthright and of opportunities. The land-holder and the capitalist had a stranglehold on the men and women of Mexico.

There are among Mexicans philosophers and students. There are those capable of understanding their rights and who know the spirit of freedom that obtained in other countries. They determined upon a revolutionary program that had a two-fold purpose—the establishment of democratic institutions and the return of the land and opportunities to the masses of the people. Practically the whole nation anticipated advantages from a revolution.

This revolutionary movement found expression in the overthrow of Diaz and the establishment of Madero. The nation was united in the movement to overthrow despotism, but as it always happens, the revolutionary group divides up into factions of different ideals and purposes when the constructive work is attempted. The Mexican nation divided into groups supporting the leader whom they thought most likely and most capable of establishing their ideals.

Madero recognized that the welfare of Mexico depended upon the welfare of the working people, that any plans that would succeed must proceed upon the fundamental basis that the workers were afforded opportunities to struggle for and secure justice and freedom. The Mexican nation as a whole had somehow caught the vision that the essential principle of democracy must be followed and the people must work out their own regeneration.

For years the liberal elements in Mexico were generally united in the Liberal party, which had for its chief purpose the reestablishment of the constitution of 1857. As that constitution provided rights and opportunities for the people, those who were seeking freedom in all lines were in sympathy with the effort to restore it. Because it had an appeal for the workingmen as well as for other groups of citizens, workingmen both in the United States and Mexico gave aid and endorsement to the leaders of the Liberal party who were termed revolutionists by the Mexican government and persecuted as political offenders. Often these men escaped across the border line for refuge. The Mexican government did not relinquish its persecution at the border line but worked out methods whereby it pursued progressive Mexicans even in their political asylum in the United States. They endeavored to secure the extradition of fugitive Mexicans on criminal charges. The Mexican government retained the services of detective agencies that were to seek out fugitives. When found, the fugitives were arrested, put into jail, where they were held until the charges were either dismissed as groundless or evidence could be manufactured. Just as soon as the prison doors opened for these victims, they were rearrested upon other trumped up charges and again confined. Kidnapping was not uncommon.

Position of A. F. of L

The persecution of these men aroused the sympathy of the members of the organized labor movement. The Denver, 1908, convention of the A. F. of L. adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal, Librado Rivera, and other members of the Mexican Liberal party, were arrested in Los Angeles, California, August 23, 1907, at the instance of the Mexican government, and have since been detained in prison, while extraordinary effort has been made to extradite them; and

WHEREAS, The Mexican government, as prosecutor, has succeeded in inducing the American authorities to hold them on varying criminal charges, ranging from petty larceny to that of murder; and

WHEREAS, The several charges, in turn and of necessity have been abandoned when fully refuted by legal testimony, and the one active charge remaining is that of endeavoring to invade Mexico with an armed force, all of which proves by court records that these men are not criminals in any sense—if offenders at all, political offenders only; therefore be it

Resolved, That the A. F. of L. extends its earnest sympathy to the aforesaid Magon, Villarreal, Rivera, et al., and commends to all affiliated organizations the consideration of proper means for their defense.

In following up this matter in pursuance of the instructions of this convention, the A. F. of L. assisted in the effort to get a congressional investigation of this persecution of political refugees from Mexico. In 1910 a committee of the House of Representatives inquired into this matter and elicited testimony from those who had been the victims of this persecution and others who had come in contact with the condition.

The president of the A. F. of L. in a letter to the President of the United States called his attention to the charges that were being made that men in

the employ of the United States Government were using the agencies of justice of this country to assist in the political persecution of members of the Liberal party of Mexico. It was the insistence and the love of liberty and justice among the workers of the United States that disclosed and denounced the practices which made the agencies of justice of this country subservient tools of the Mexican government and forced the administrations under President Roosevelt and President Taft to refuse longer to allow the United States Government to be Mexican man-hunters. The Rochester, 1912, convention of the A. F. of L. adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, There now is and has been a struggle going on in Mexico to abolish the present conditions of peonage and of land tenure; and

WHEREAS, There is a considerable agitation in some quarters to influence the United States Government to intervene between contending factions in the said country; therefore be it

Resolved, That we are utterly opposed to any intervention in Mexico, that we believe in a determined policy of "hands off" on the part of our government; and, be it further

Resolved, That we extend our cordial greetings and best wishes to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women, and to abolish the present land tenure.

On July 25, 1914, Executive Council of the A. F. of L. communicated with Senor Zubarin, the representative of the Mexican Constitutionalist government at Washington and urged the advisability of a declaration by their government, through its First Chief, that a policy of punishment and retribution would not be followed in dealing with the political enemies of the Carranza government.

The service that the A. F. of L. was able to render to the cause of humanity in Mexico was fully reported to the San Francisco Convention under the heading "Pan-American Labor Relations."

Organization of Mexican Workers

It was one of the most significant and most hopeful manifestations of this spirit that Madero accorded to the workers the right to organize, the legal right to strike and gave to them assistance in their efforts to organize.

Representatives of the revolutionary movement of Mexico and the officers of the A. F. of L. were in constant correspondence. Several of the former had conferences with the President and the executive Council of the A. F. of L. A better understanding had been reached and the ground broken for sympathetic cooperation between the organized labor movement of America and whatever existed of the embryo labor movement and the revolutionary movement of Mexico. But the labor movement of Mexico dates from Madero. The news of the change in Mexico quickly flashed across the border line. That organization in the United States whose members have been most intimately connected with Mexican workers, the miners' organization, sent a delegation to confer with Madero. As a result of that conference governmental approval was given to the efforts of organized miners to organize their fellow-workers in Mexico. The cordial relations thus established were helpful in the work of organization.

Other organizers as individuals have gone into Mexico and carried the message of organized labor in America to the workers of Mexico who were seeking a way out of bondage. Various trades organized into unions upon lines necessary to meet the immediate problems and conditions. The conditions were such that immediate benefits were essential. Stone masons, woodworkers, printers, carpenters, shoemakers, machinists, and workers in other

lines organized in the City of Mexico into a federation known as the Casa del Obrero Mundial.

For a brief time it seemed that the revolution in Mexico would be suppressed by the tyranny of the usurper and tyrant Huerta but with his downfall and the ascendancy of Carranza, backed by a group of Liberal elements, the Carranza government made a compact with the organized labor movement of Mexico. The compact was signed on behalf of the government by Rafael Zubarin Campany. The government pledged its support to the organized labor movement, and pledged the maintenance of freedom for activities necessary to carry out the high purposes of organized labor. It also gave immediate assistance, permitting the labor organizations to use large houses in various cities, such as Vera Cruz, Tampico, and Mexico City for the purpose of holding meetings and for the protection of their families. In these buildings the labor organizations were permitted to set up their printing presses and issue labor and liberal papers. Transportation was given to their delegations to go to various parts of Mexico to organize different trades and federate them under the national organization.

The Carranza government has made an earnest effort to fulfill these obligations. In return the workers, holding that their interests were identified for the time at least with the Carranza government, have supported that government, and some labor organizations have enlisted in the Carranza army and served en masse with the officers of their union as the officers of the company. Some of these regiments, such as the regiments formed of the Orizaba textile workers, are known as the "red regiments."

Soon after its organization the Casa del Obrero Mundial elected delegates to come to the United States for the purpose of giving American workers information of the labor movement in Mexico. Unfortunately, complications and lack of financial means prevented carrying out this purpose at first. Later in the year another federation of labor organization, known as the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros, sent a representative to the United States. This representative was a man who was also a colonel of one of the red regiments.

No Intervention—the A. F. of L.

Through the machinations of those whose financial and material interests were endangered by the Mexican revolution an international condition was brought about which made it seem that intervention of the United States Government in the affairs in Mexico was inevitable. It must be remembered that foreign capital in Mexico was interested in "developing" natural resources of Mexico and diverting the mass of the profit to foreign countries. There were the foreign concessionaires who had been given the wealth that ought to belong to the Mexican people and were using that wealth for their own private aggrandizement, for the exploitation and domination of the Mexicans. These were the elements—the interests—which endeavored to provoke intervention by some force that would suppress the revolution, but the revolution and the ideals of the revolution as maintained under the Carranza government were of vital interest to the people of Mexico generally, the great majority of whom are included in the wage-earners.

When all other agencies failed, the representatives of the Mexican workers came to the President of the A. F. of L. and asked him to present to the President of the United States reasons why intervention ought not to be made—reasons which were based upon the ideals and purposes which the Mexican people were trying to work out as best they could under the best form of government they could establish at that time. The President of the A. F. of L. made an appeal to President Wilson in the name of the working people of the United States, whose ideals and policies are closely identified and associated with those of the Mexican workers.

The United States Government did not intervene. Later in the year, when the question of recognizing the Constitutionalist government of Mexico was under consideration by the President in accord with the instructions of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., a letter was written requesting that the Constitutionalist government be recognized. The Mexican situation was presented to the President as the first efforts of people, long accustomed to despotism and denial of rights of free citizens, to realize ideals of freedom. The letter to President Wilson was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 22, 1915

SIR: In accord with the direction of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the following is respectfully submitted to you and which we hope will commend itself to your favorable consideration and action.

There has been going on just across our southern boundary a battle which is part of the world-old struggle for freedom. Although that struggle may be associated with many things that are not in accord with our ideals, yet I am sure you recognize that these things are the first crude efforts of a people long accustomed to despotism and denial of the rights of free citizens to realize ideals of freedom. Nations as well as individuals, as you well know, can not at once assume wisdom in the exercise of freedom. They must learn to be free. They have the right to this freedom without unwarranted outside interference even from those who seek their welfare.

The revolt of the people under the leadership of Madero against the Diaz government was an effort to realize ideals. The support given to the ideals of Madero was a proof that national virility and resourcefulness had not been crushed out by the rule of despotism. It was a proof that there were yet ideals and yearnings for the opportunities that rightfully belonged to citizens under a free government.

Under the Madero government there were beginnings of a labor movement and an effort of the workers to organize for the realization of their ideals and for the betterment of themselves and their fellow-workers. This hope was overshadowed by the barbarism of Huerta but again grew strong and steady when Carranza asserted himself as the leader of the people.

General Carranza is recognized as the friend of the working people and the real leader of the people generally of Mexico. He has granted to the wage-earners the right of organization and has secured them opportunities for carrying out the legitimate purposes of organization. He has been thoroughly in sympathy with the ideals of greater opportunity and freedom of the masses of the people. The working people have been supporting him. They have adjourned as lodges and trade-unions to enlist in the Carranza army with their union officials serving as the officers of their regiments.

The workers of Mexico have tried as best they could with the resources available to present their request and their right to be allowed to work out their own problems. They asked you and our government for a little more time to prove that the Carranza government really represented the people of Mexico. You granted that request and time has proved that General Carranza is really the representative of Mexican democracy; that he represents their efforts to establish a government of the people and for the people. General Carranza has demonstrated his sympathy with the ideals for which Madero gave his life, and has refused to compromise these ideals with Mexican revolutionists who were seeking their own personal interests. He has endeavored to secure for the Mexican Republic the dignity and the respect that ought to be accorded to any sovereign government.

The sympathies of the workers of the United States have been very deeply touched by the struggles of our fellow-workers of Mexico. As recent events have drawn all of the countries of the two American continents more closely together, so the workers of these various countries have been more thoroughly aroused to the common interests and the common welfare of the wage-earners who are citizens of the countries.

It is with the desire that we Americans who have so much of opportunity should use our influence to aid those who are less fortunate, that as representatives of the labor movement of America we urge upon you recognition of General Carranza as the head of the Mexican government.

The matter we know is receiving your most earnest and most conscientious consideration, and we are sure that your sympathies are very strong for any genuine effort to secure larger liberty for the people; therefore, we wish you to have the assurance that the course we as the representatives of the organized labor movement of America urge upon you, has, we are sure, the hearty approval and endorsement of the great rank and file of the citizenship of our country.

Very sincerely yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

Hon. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
White House, Washington, D. C.

On October 19, 1915, the United States Government notified the representatives of the de facto Mexican government in the United States that it would be pleased to receive formally in Washington a diplomatic representative of the Constitutionalist government. The Carranza government was recognized.

Mexico-United States Labor Conference

The concessionaires, the American trusts in Mexico and the foreign capitalists who had invested money there became increasingly disturbed as the Carranza government continued its program. They were in danger of losing the privileges that they had secured in devious ways. As these foreigners owned 75 per cent of the capital and land of Mexico, they saw no benefit to be secured through indemnities, for indemnities would be the result of taxation of Mexican property, the property to which they claimed title, consequently, indemnities meant they themselves must pay.

Then began an effort on a gigantic scale to create "public opinion" for American intervention in Mexico. Nor were these efforts confined to press publicity. President Wilson in a public statement declared that interests hostile to international peace were inciting trouble along the border line between Mexico and the United States.

One of the most conspicuous of these efforts was the expedition sent from California into Lower California, Mexico, headed by Mr. Chandler, son-in-law of General Otis, of the Los Angeles Times. General Otis owns about 64,000 acres in Mexico, which was virtually an extension of the great Imperial Valley of California. General Otis, as all the world knows, is actuated by far from idealistic purposes. The conditions connected with this expedition were brought to the attention of the grand jury of California, indictments followed, and some of the men concerned in the expedition were sentenced to terms in the penitentiary. However, the men who planned the expedition and were to profit by it have so far escaped punishment. This case is known as California vs. Chandler, *Abilez*, et al.

When conditions became critical, in the name of the workers of the United States, the President of the A. F. of L. sent the following letter to the Casa del Obrero Mundial of Mexico:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23, 1916

Secretary CASA DEL OBRERO MUNDIAL,

City of Mexico.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Permit me on behalf of the American Federation of Labor to send fraternal greetings to the Casa del Obrero Mundial, to the entire labor movement of Mexico.

The labor movement of North America has seen with what splendid courage organized labor in Mexico has, from the time of the presidency of the late Francisco I. Madero, demanded and obtained recognition for the cause of labor and justice in our sister republic.

From time to time the A. F. of L. has received confidential reports from delegates duly accredited by your organization and others who came to Washington in behalf of the Mexican labor movement and the Mexican cause. From these delegates the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has learned how deeply the spirit of international brotherhood has guided all our struggles in Mexico. We learned with intense interest of the historic agreement between the Casa del Obrero Mundial and the Constitutionalist Government and signed on behalf of that government by Rafael Zubaran Campany.

We have learned with what bravery and determination the Mexican miners in the state of Arizona organized and struck work with their brother Americans of the north and won advancement for themselves and the cause of international solidarity.

All these facts point to the necessity of a still closer understanding between the workers of all the Americas, particularly in this crisis in the world's history. To this end and to propose a practical method of mutual co-operation between organized labor in Mexico and in the United States, I suggest that, at a date to be agreed upon, representatives from the Casa del Obrero Mundial and as many other of the labor organizations in Mexico as possible meet for a conference in El Paso, Texas, with representatives of the A. F. of L. Matters for the mutual welfare of the sister republic could then be discussed and a future co-operative policy outlined.

With you I agree that the future peace of the world rests in the hands of the wage-earners, and this is most cogently expressed by the organized labor movement of each and all countries.

I hope to hear from you as soon as possible as to the actual conditions of the Mexican labor movement at the present time, and a reply to the suggestion I have made herein.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor

Copies of this letter were sent to President Wilson and to each member of his Cabinet and to the officers of the Constitutional government in Mexico, as well as to a number of governors of Mexican states, who were in a position and who would probably be disposed to give general publicity to the letter among the workers of Mexico.

Within a very short time there came telegraphic response from the labor organizations of Mexico heartily endorsing the holding of a labor conference and suggesting an immediate date. Within brief time came further telegraphic information stating that the labor organizations of Mexico City had elected

delegates who were instructed to proceed at once to the border to hold a conference on June 25. As June 26 was the date that had been set for the meeting of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. in Washington and not sufficient time was allowed for communicating with the workers of Mexico, it was impossible to have a time mutually agreed upon for the conference before these workers started for Eagle Pass, Texas. Immediately upon their arrival in Eagle Pass, the delegates telegraphed to Washington. There were twenty representatives of various trade organizations in this delegation. The suggestion was made that the delegates who had come to Eagle Pass should proceed to Washington, which was considered a better place for a conference in addition to affording an opportunity for the delegates to meet with the E. C. of the A. F. of L. Conditions on the border were such as to make a labor conference there ill-advised.

The Mexican delegation elected two of their number to come to Washington. They were Luis N. Morones, an electrical worker of Mexico City, and Mr. Salvador Gonzales Garcia, a machinist. Both of these workers represented the Casa del Obrero Mundial.

In the meanwhile the Confederacion of Sindicatos Obreros had again sent their labor representative, Edmundo E. Martinez, to the United States and commissioned him to bring to the E. C. of the A. F. of L. a gold medal expressing the appreciation of the Mexican workers for what the American labor movement had done for them in their struggle for liberty. This medal was formally presented in the conference which the Mexican delegates had with the E. C.

The state of Yucatan now has as Governor Salvadore Alvarado, a man who has some understanding of the labor movement and is in sympathy with its needs and purposes and has done much to better conditions in Yucatan. It must be remembered that less than a year ago the workers of Yucatan were peons—slaves. In a brief while the revolution has given them a chance to be free men and they have used that freedom as best they could under the circumstances. What they have done at present in the way of industrial organization is perhaps not the ideal thing, but it represents their first efforts to bring about changes in the oppressive conditions that have so long prevailed.

However, democracy can not come in a year, but the people of Yucatan will learn democracy and will gradually supersede autocracy, whether political or industrial. The Governor of Yucatan believed so strongly in organized labor that he commissioned two representatives of the workers to come to the United States bringing an appeal from the workers of Yucatan. This appeal was for the purpose of establishing better relations between organized labor of Yucatan and the United States and all Pan-American countries. These two delegates from Yucatan participated in the Mexican conference; they are Baltazar Pages, editor, *Voice of the Revolution*, and Carlos Loveria, chief of the Department of Labor. They had credentials signed by the following labor organizations of Yucatan: The Society of Dockers; the Syndicate of Machinists, Blacksmiths and Boilermakers; Union of Railway Men of Yucatan; Society of Sailors; Syndicate of Waiters and Assistants of Restaurants and Saloons; Syndicate of Carpenters; Syndicate of Mechanical Electricians; Clerks' Headquarters of Yucatan; Syndicate of Bakers; Syndicate of Molders; Syndicate of Coach Drivers; Mutual Beneficial Society of Truck Drivers; Syndicate of House Tenants.

The representatives of the Casa del Obrero Mundial had credentials from that organization and asserted that they represented 100,000 organized workers.

The purpose of this conference was the consideration of ways and means for the establishment of closer relations between our respective labor movements in order that there might be better understanding and better co-operation. It was in recognition of the fact that their economic interests were identical and that there must be permanent relationship established between the economic organizations.

All parties to the conference agreed upon the principle of action, that the economic movement is the fundamental agency for the welfare of the workers and that the economic movement must be made the instrumentality for establishing their freedom and promoting all of their interests.

As a result of the conference held in Washington the following declaration was formulated and signed:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1916

The undersigned, the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico, express our deep gratification in the consummation of this conference which we hope and believe has laid the basis for better understanding and has welded ties that shall bind together the workers of our respective countries.

We are confident that personal conferences of the workers of the United States and of Mexico will be a constructive force in bringing about understanding necessary for better relations between our countries and for maintaining peace founded upon a proper regard for the rights of all. It is our opinion that this conference should be followed by another in which the workers of both countries shall be more generally represented for the purpose of agreeing upon plans for maintaining permanent relations and for the federation of the labor movements of all of the countries of the two Americas.

In view of present relations between the United States and Mexico we are of the opinion that such a general conference is for the present untimely and we express the judgment that the holding of such a conference should be deferred until later in the year. However, in the event of an emergency which would make a general conference of advantage in averting an international crisis, such a conference could and should be called for the earliest time mutually agreeable. To carry this plan into effect a joint commission shall be chosen to consist of two members from both labor movements to remain in Washington until the present crisis is passed, the said joint commission to have the power of calling a general conference if necessary.

We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between our countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping to determine international affairs.

The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent.

We direct that the President of the A. F. of L. and the official representatives of organized labor of Mexico should keep in touch through correspondence and that they be authorized to carry out the purposes specified in this declaration.

In joint conference as the representatives of the workers, the masses of our respective countries, we urge upon our governments to adjust existing differences without war and to establish conditions conducive to permanent peace with justice.

We appeal to the workers and all of the people of the United States and of Mexico to do everything within their power to promote correct understanding of purposes and actions, to prevent friction, to encourage good will, and to promote an intelligent national opinion that ultimately

shall direct relations between our countries and shall be a potent humanitarian force in promoting world progress.

It is an unavoidable conclusion that present differences between our countries are the result of misunderstanding growing out of inadequate or incorrect information; that the unfortunate consequences of past relations between the United States and Mexico have formulated a national attitude that questions the good faith of our governments; that existing agencies and methods of reaching an adjustment of these differences are unsuitable for dealing with those problems which are fundamentally human problems; and that the relations between our countries ought not to be directed in accord with abstract standards of justice, but ought to be keenly sensitive and responsive to the human interests and moral forces. Therefore, we, the representatives of the organized workers, having the right to speak for all of the workers and in the interests of all of the people, urge upon our governments the appointment of a commission to be composed of high-minded citizens, fully representative of our nations, to consider differences that have brought our nations to the verge of war and to make such recommendations for adjustment as shall fitly express the highest ideals of the great rank and file of the citizenship of our two countries.

We direct that copies of this declaration shall be presented to the President of the United States, Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and to the First Chief of the Constitutionalist government of Mexico, General Venustiano Carranza, and that it be given widest publicity among the workers of our respective countries.

For the organized workers of the United States:

SAM'L GOMPERS, *President*.
 JAMES DUNCAN, *First Vice-President*.
 JAS. O'CONNELL, *Second Vice-President*.
 D. A. HAYES, *Third Vice-President*.
 JOS. F. VALENTINE, *Fourth Vice-President*.
 JOHN R. ALPINE, *Fifth Vice-President*.
 H. B. PERHAM, *Sixth Vice-President*.
 FRANK DUFFY, *Seventh Vice-President*.
 WM. GREEN, *Eighth Vice-President*.
 JOHN B. LENNON, *Treasurer*.
 FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary*.

For the organized workers of Mexico:

C. LOVERIA.
 BALTAZAR PAGES.
 L. N. MORONES.
 S. GONZALO GARCIA.
 EDMUNDO E. MARTINEZ.

Labor's Efforts to Prevent War

While the conference was in progress, an actual clash between the American troops in Mexico and the Mexican army had taken place, in which some American soldiers were killed and some were imprisoned and held in jail. The President of the United States issued an ultimatum demanding the immediate release of the American soldiers. No word was received from the Mexican government as to their intentions in the matter, public opinion was aroused to fever heat, and it seemed as though war was inevitable.

In this great anxiety an appeal came from the Mexican governmental representatives in this country to the President of the A. F. of L. asking him to

send a personal appeal to General Carranza for the release of the American soldiers.

On the afternoon of June 28, about half past two, the following telegram was sent:

Telegram

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 28, 1916

GENERAL VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

In the name of common justice and humanity, in the interest of a better understanding between the peoples and the governments of the United States and Mexico, for the purpose of giving the opportunity to maintain peace and avoid the horrors of war, upon the grounds of highest patriotism and love, I appeal to you to release the American soldiers held by your officers in Chihuahua.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

On the evening of that same day extra papers on the streets announced that General Carranza had just issued an order releasing the American soldiers.

On the following day was received from General Carranza this:

Telegram

MEXICO, June 29, 1916

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

In replying to your message dated yesterday, I would state that the government in my charge has ordered the liberty of the American soldiers whom the Mexican forces took as prisoners in Carrizal. Salute very affectionately.

V. CARRANZA

The E. C. which was, at the time, considering Mexican affairs, authorized the sending of the following:

Telegram

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 30, 1916

GENERAL VENUSTIANO CARRANZA,
First Chief, Constitutionalist Government,
Mexico City, Mexico.

Your telegram of June 29 received and laid before the E. C. of the A. F. of L. in session at Washington, and we express to you our appreciation of your order releasing the American soldiers and thus helping to clear the way for a mutually honorable settlement of any differences existing between the governments of the United States and of Mexico.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros de la Republica Mexicana

The headquarters of the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros is at Vera Cruz. This federation consists of all branches of labor, such as bakers, stevedores, masons, waiters, clerks, railway men of all departments, tailors, carpenters, street sweepers, marine workers and sailors, painters, electrical workers, boiler-

makers, iron workers, motormen, conductors of street cars, etc. Each trade organization has control over its own immediate affairs, but all unite in presenting their demands.

All over Mexico there are local organizations of various trades affiliated to their federation. They occasionally send delegates to Vera Cruz, but the meetings at Vera Cruz are largely made up of local men. The federation is only in the formative stage for it must be remembered that a revolution is in progress in Mexico. The workers not only have to carry on the economic struggle, but they have to make their contribution to the maintenance of the government that affords them opportunities for freedom.

The representative of this organization, Col. Martinez, related the following activities, showing the effectiveness of the economic movement. The street car men in Vera Cruz before the revolution worked for about \$1 per day, but soon after raised their wages to \$2.50 per day. When other opportunities presented themselves the street car men made demands for large increased wages. At first the street car company refused, but yielded when the men struck to enforce their demands.

When the government attempted to regulate the price of bread so that the poor people could have food, the bakery owners declared they could not produce bread at the price fixed by the government. The government then made an arrangement with the union bakers by which they should take control over the bakery shops and sell bread at the fixed prices. The result of this arrangement was that the bakers made good wages for themselves, had money left over for the owners of the property and the people had bread at the cheap prices fixed by the government.

The stevedores in Vera Cruz made demands upon the steamship companies for higher wages. The companies got their money in gold but paid their employes in Mexican silver. When they rejected the demands of the stevedores, the latter struck, demanded their pay in gold, which amounted to higher wages, and enforced their demands.

A very interesting strike was that of the cart drivers who have practically control over traffic in Vera Cruz. When the street carmen were on strike, the cart drivers inaugurated a sympathetic strike and refused to work until the street car strike was won.

The best organized states are those along the coast, including Vera Cruz, Tamepeche, Yucatan and Tamaulipas. In these states the eight or nine hour day prevails generally for all organized labor.

Many of the workers, both in Vera Cruz and elsewhere in the state, were forced by revolutionary conditions and imperative necessities to take their families to the Casas that were the headquarters of the union organization and there many of them still live.

In these labor centers meetings are held practically every day and general meetings about once a week.

The economic movement and other activities have not yet been fully differentiated from the revolutionary movement. The whole is an effort to express the desires and the ideals of the people. The labor movement had adopted many forms and practices that will be modified later under conditions of peace and in the practical constructive work of the movement. There are some undesirable characteristics, but the labor movement as it now exists in Mexico represents the best that they can do under the circumstances. It is the first efforts of a people, many of whom were recently slaves or peons, to work out their freedom, economically as well as politically.

It was most unfortunate that the representatives of the Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros were unable to reach Washington in time for the conference which was held between representatives of Mexican workers and the E. C. However, they authorized Col. Martinez by telegram to participate in the conference.

Owing to unavoidable difficulties their three delegates, Messrs. Carvallo, Alonzo and Ramos, did not reach New York until after the other delegates had left for their homes. They proceeded to Washington where they presented to the President of the A. F. of L. credentials from their organization in Vera Cruz and a letter stating their mission. They filed a statement containing the names of about 500 unions organized and affiliated to the Confederacion de Sindicatos Obreros. This organization, they stated, consists of a federation of local unions organized in practically all of the Mexican states. Their total membership is something like 250,000.

The main purpose of their trip to Washington was for a conference with the representative of the A. F. of L. in order to learn of our methods and fundamental principles and to give the workers of America information that they ought to have to estimate correctly the Mexican labor movement. They were given the information desired and a letter expressing the good will and sympathy of the American workers, together with suggestions that may be helpful in the development of the Mexican labor movement.

These delegates also expressed their earnest desire to co-operate for the realization of the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Pan-American Movement

There is an ideal that has been the hope of liberty-loving men and women of all ages and the labor movements of all countries—internationalism. It is an ideal that for a while seemed hopelessly obscured by the awful European war, but we know that the fault was not with the ideal. It lay in the failure to plan the realization of that ideal.

The men of the labor movement of America have had their dreams just as have the workers everywhere and we have been laying a firm foundation for the realization of that ideal.

With the development of the labor movement in Mexico there was manifest an opportunity for the workers of the United States to join hands with the workers of Mexico. When conditions presented practical possibilities there came another development that demonstrated the necessity for an international labor entente and organization.

Our government took the initiative in plans for promoting closer relations between the Pan-American countries. Congress appropriated money and authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint a High Commission to visit the countries in the Pan-American Union. When this commission was under consideration the President of the A. F. of L. wrote to Secretary McAdoo urging that inasmuch as the scope of the matters which the commission had to deal and consider all concerned in some way the lives and work of wage-earners—for neither production nor commerce can be carried on without wage-earners, who are that which gives the whole organization life, and principles of human welfare are concerned in all relations—there ought to be on the commission distinctive representatives of the human side of Pan-American relations. This whole matter was incorporated in an official report of the E. C. to the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L. and has been called to the attention of men in public life both in this and in other Pan-American countries.

One of the most important features, therefore, of the declaration signed by the members of the Mexican-United States labor conference was that which called attention to the necessity for international relations between the labor movements of all of these countries.

When the crisis in the diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico had passed, the Mexican delegates presented to the President of the A. F. of L. in a letter their opinion that it was no longer necessary to retain two delegates at Washington as had been planned.

The delegates from Yucatan have been commissioned to make a tour of Latin-American countries, presenting greetings from the people and the workers of Yucatan. One of the delegates from the Casa del Obrero Mundial of Mexico was instructed to go to Cuba to carry a message to the workers there.

At the last conference which the President of the A. F. of L. had with these delegates, he placed in their charge and for their use the following message:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 6, 1916

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL AMERICAN COUNTRIES:

A purpose has long been in the minds of many which has gradually been taking form and seeking an opportunity for concrete expression. Such an opportunity has been born out of the strained relations that have recently existed between the United States and Mexico and the great anxiety aroused thereby in hearts and minds of the workers of both countries. There has come at least one result that is potential for the maintenance of human rights and the establishment of principles of human welfare in international relations.

Just as the situation between the United States and Mexico was most critical, there came to our country two representatives of the government of Yucatan, Mr. Carlos Loveira, chief of the Department of Labor, and Mr. Baltazar Pages, editor of the *Voice of the Revolution*, bringing an appeal to the workmen of our country to use their influence in the interest of peace and justice between the countries. At the same time, in response to an invitation from the A. F. of L., the organized labor movement of Mexico sent as representatives to Washington for the purpose of holding a conference, Mr. Luis N. Morones, Mr. S. Gonzalo Garcia and Mr. Edmundo E. Martinez.

During the recent past, through personal representatives of the Mexican government and information gained from others in close contact with conditions in Mexico, it became plain to us that the revolution in Mexico represented the cause of humanity and democracy, and that the Constitutionalist government represented a genuine effort on the part of the Mexicans to establish institutions of freedom and justice. The A. F. of L. made an appeal to the President of the United States to recognize the Constitutionalist government of Mexico.

It has since on several occasions, when important decisions of national policies affecting the United States and Mexico were in balance, been the instrumentality through which the desires of the masses of the people have been expressed, and further time and opportunity afforded to Mexico for understanding our national attitude and demonstrating good will and good faith on her part.

Because of this historical relation it was felt that a conference between representatives of the labor movement of Mexico and representatives of the A. F. of L. would be a direct means by which the masses of the people of both countries could wield an influence that would counteract the influence of financial powers and those who were willing to precipitate international conflicts for their own aggrandizement.

At this conference held in Washington between the representatives of the Mexican labor movement and the E. C. of the A. F. of L., a declaration was signed by all parties to the conference. This declaration, in addition to provisions which concerned immediate relations between our two countries, provided for future conferences between representatives of both countries and declared in favor of efforts to establish a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

This was not a new thought for the A. F. of L. Upon several occasions the same idea has been advanced, and in the proceedings of the 1915 Convention of the A. F. of L. endorsement was given to a pro-

posal for an organization that would represent human rights and interests in all Pan-American countries. The necessity for such a labor federation has been made increasingly greater through efforts to establish closer commercial and political relations between the countries included in the Pan-American Union.

In the High Commission which recently made a trip to Pan-American countries for the purpose of promoting better commercial and industrial relations, although there was no phase in any of the relations between these different countries that did not in some way affect human interests and human welfare, there was no one on that commission who distinctively represented human interests and the rights and welfare of the masses of the people.

I have urged upon the United States Government that this serious omission ought to be rectified, and I urge the labor movements of all Pan-American countries to bring the same matter to the attention of their respective governments. But such representation, valuable as it would be, is not sufficient to protect and promote the rights and welfare of the workers of all countries. A Pan-American Federation of Labor is not only possible, but is necessary. It will constitute a ready and fit agency for injecting into international deliberations at opportune and critical times consideration for human rights, interests and welfare.

In view of the importance of this purpose, it is most gratifying to find that the representatives from the state of Yucatan are to travel through the countries of Central and South America for the purpose of promoting a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The purpose of this mission has our most sympathetic and hearty co-operation. The realization of an international alliance between the labor movements of all Pan-American countries will constitute a genuine parliament of men, one of the highest purposes to which mankind has aspired.

It is earnestly hoped that the representatives of all organized workers in Pan-America will come into and continue correspondence with the undersigned.

With sincere greetings, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

There is great hope in this effort to bring about a Pan-American Federation of Labor—a hope that is based upon the helpfulness of the organized movements of Mexico and the United States in helping to avert war between the two countries. The labor movement succeeded in doing what other organizations desired to do and hoped to do.

The success of the economic organization is due to the following reasons: The labor movement is essential. It is organic. It is something created for the promotion of an ideal; it is a movement that has inevitably grown out of the needs and the lives of people confronted by pressing problems. It performs necessary functions and has adapted its available resources so that it has achieved marvelous results in the face of almost impossible obstacles and opposition. It is fundamental. It can not be crushed as long as there are those who work for wages. Its forms and its methods extend and expand; its necessity never ceases.

When, therefore, two great fundamental organisms in two countries which were threatened by war sent their representatives to a conference to discuss the mutual interests of the masses of the two nations concerned, there was a conference of delegates authorized to speak in the name of the masses of both countries—a conference that resulted in brushing aside non-essentials and fictions that had been created for prejudicing the minds of both nations and mis-

informing them in order that they might be more willing to clash in war. For the first time the desires and the ideals of the masses of the two nations were given an opportunity for expression in a great international crisis.

As an expression of the feeling of Mexicans as to the influence of that conference, the following letter is enlightening in tone and in statement:

NEW YORK, July 12, 1916

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Gompers: I am in receipt of yours of the 6th inst. As you say in your letter, I am delighted at the reply of the First Chief, General V. Carranza, regarding mediation of the two countries. We all probably will never fully realize the great consequences of your wonderful work for the welfare of the working masses and incidentally for the happiness of the people of the great American continent. I can assure you that the Mexican people appreciate your great efforts in their behalf. It seems to me like a dream to have been aligned against the most powerful interests of the world, and have won. God grant that the working people of our two countries may realize their great power and work hand in hand for our general emancipation.

I thank you for copy you enclosed of the resolutions drawn up in Washington between our organizations.

If some time you have the pleasure of seeing President Mr. Wilson, I wish you will tell him that the Mexican people appreciate what he has done towards cementing real friendship and good will between the honest people of the two countries. He has done what bloodshed and strife could not accomplish.

With best wishes, I am,
Sincerely yours,

EDMUNDO E. MARTINEZ

Although this conference was devoted to economic matters and dealt with plans which look to future growth and development, it was a tremendous steady-ing force in the diplomatic crisis and exerted a tremendous power in clearing up the facts which were to be presented to the public. It was a force that stood for reasonableness, for justice and for the interests of humanity.

At the conference held in Washington it was decided that a later and more general conference should be held some time during this year when conditions shall become more favorable. At such a conference plans for permanent relations can be decided, at least between this country and Mexico, and it is hoped that other countries will send delegates to the conference. Some beginning at least will be made in the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

From the very beginning of our efforts to promote this Pan-American Federation of Labor one fundamental principle must be thoroughly understood. We, in the United States, concede to Mexico and the people of Mexico the right to work out their own problems according to their own ideals and in accord with their needs and the conditions that exist. We must insist upon the same right for the United States. The American trade union movement must have the sole right to determine the affairs of the American trade union movement. Just as it will be party to no movement to enforce American thought and American institutions upon other peoples, so it can not permit the theories of any other American country to dominate, minimize or change the principles of the American labor movement.

The American labor movement has held itself free of all theorists, partisan politics, and all entangling alliances, free that it might press home the demands of Labor. The American labor movement consists of adherents of all parties

and believers in many theories. But these personal beliefs are not the concern of the labor movement. They are individual. The movement itself must be concerned with cardinal principles and fundamental demands upon those things upon which a common understanding has been reached. The movement does not advocate theories, it makes demands and presses them home.

The jurisdiction of a Pan-American Federation of Labor would properly be to enable the workers of the various countries to so direct affairs that no one of them would be used against the interests of others, to promote certain fundamental principles of common action and their universal application such as standards of work and life, hours and conditions of labor and minimum wage established, not by law, but by economic action, to take advantage of time and opportunity to cultivate the best relations between the national labor movements of the various countries, and to work out in the interests of the common good those matters upon which there is unanimous agreement.

It is the hope of the labor movement of the United States that the purpose and the ideals that have averted this war and made possible a Pan-American Federation of Labor can be extended to include the workers of all countries into a World Federation of Labor—a genuine parliament of men.

American Federationist, March, 1917

TO PAN-AMERICANIZE LABOR (EDITORIAL)

A practical move has been made to unite the peoples of Pan-America. In compliance with the instructions of the Baltimore Convention a Conference Committee was formed to make necessary arrangements for a Pan-American Labor Congress. February 9, 1917, the committee issued a manifesto to the organized labor movements of all countries of the Western Hemisphere calling upon them for co-operation in the practical work preliminary to the Congress, as well as to participate in the Congress. The movement was not a matter of premeditation grown out of years of desire of the workers of this hemisphere to form a Pan-American Federation of Labor and a closer alliance of all Pan-American countries, but had its origin in the developments of the past two and a half years as manifested in the European conflict.

The movement is in response to a conviction that is general among the people of all these countries but has lacked means of expression. Although working people have had their ideals they have been very slow to act. The proposed organization will provide a means for action. It will enable the organized labor movement in each country to get its feet firmly on the ground and be ready to do things. The international organization will further the development of the organized labor movement in each country, and the national development will further the work of the international organization. The immediate effect will be to develop the influence of workers and to enable them to use their own power.

At no time has the need of such an organization been more conspicuous than at present. There exist the highest ideals of civilization and peace, but there are no agencies through which these ideals can function. More than one-half of the world is at war. There is imminent danger that the other half will inevitably be drawn into the conflict. There are those who would avert war, but they are helpless against the apparent on-coming torrent.

In the Western Hemisphere there is an eager desire for peace, but in order to maintain peace it is necessary that we organize for that purpose, that we keep open the way for reason, and that we plan to defeat the efforts of those who would profit by involving us in war. Peace between countries can only be maintained on a basis of mutual confidence and understanding. Confidence and understanding are possible only when there is frequent contact, communication and conferences. Unfortunately in the past, practically all intercourse between

North and South American countries has been that growing out of business relationships and in the interest of private enterprise.

United States business, as represented in Pan-American countries, is conducted for the purpose of profit and for the enrichment of its promoters. American business as conducted in the United States is upon ideals far inferior to concepts of morality held for individuals. Business is upon an impersonal basis—the corporation responsible for the morality. As conducted in South American countries it is even more ruthless and immoral than here. The only standard by which it is judged is the amount of profits.

The people of Latin America form their judgment of the United States from those agents with whom it comes in contact. They impute to the people of the United States the same low ideals that prevail in our business life.

But the ideals of big business do not represent the prevailing desires and ambitions of the people of this nation. The only way by which the purposes of the masses of the people of this country can find expression in our dealings with other countries is by the establishment of democratic means of communication.

The masses of the people of other countries are those who are primarily interested in human freedom and economic justice. The great problem of the present age is economic freedom. There are those in all countries who are making a heroic struggle for this great ideal. If these heroes of all countries can join hands in a great International Federation of Labor, a grand step forward will have been made in the common cause of an International Federation of Pan-American countries.

At the present time power everywhere is in the hands of those in control of production. They control the governments, the press, distribution and opportunities of life and development. Although fewer in number to the masses who do the creative work, they have been able to perpetuate domination by organization for their own common profiteering. When workers once understand their own power and unite, then ideals of justice, humanity and democracy will find their rightful place not only in national affairs, but in international.

It will be the purpose of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to unite the masses of Pan-America for the cause of human freedom, economic justice and democracy. The opinion of the masses is often inarticulate and vague and has too long been kept so because denied means of expression. Once give the masses the means of expression and not only do their ideals become clarified, but they gain in power and effectiveness.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor will represent the highest American ideals—the highest ideals of humanity. It will give impetus to a great movement whose transcendent importance and benefit no one can foresee.

American Federationist, March, 1917

MANIFESTO

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.
Confederacion Pan-Americana de Trabajadores.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 9, 1917

To the Workers of Latin America.

Fraternal Greetings:

The convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in November, 1916, in the city of Baltimore, United States of North America, passed resolutions and gave authority to its Executive Council whereby this, the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, is called into being.

In accordance with this action there has been established in the building of the A. F. of L. in Washington, D. C., an office in charge of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee whose mission it is to give form

to the projected conference of bona fide labor representatives from all Pan-American countries.

The Conference Committee is composed of Samuel Gompers, Chairman, representing the A. F. of L.; John Murray, Secretary, and the following committeemen: Santiago Iglesias, representing the organized workers of Porto Rico, and Carlos Loveira, representing the organized workers of Yucatan, Mexico. The committee welcomes representatives from the organized labor movements of Latin-American countries to join with us. All are urged to select their representatives as soon as possible. If an official selection can not be made early, the name and address of some one should be given the committee, who will correspond with the committee and with whom it and others can correspond.

By means of correspondence with all the labor centers of the American continent, and through the daily, weekly and monthly press friendly to Labor, the Conference Committee proposes to carry on an active propaganda for the attainment of practical, immediate benefits as well as the ideals of organized labor.

As is well known, the capitalists of North America and some European countries are scattering millions and millions of dollars through Latin-America acquiring concessions and business properties which are disposed of to them by Latin-American politicians and speculators without taking into consideration the rights of the masses of the people, who, by these transactions, have their future endangered for decades and perhaps centuries.

If the employers, the capitalists, of Pan-America thus unite for the protection of their common advantage, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment.

It will be the duty of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to show to the world that its purpose is to permeate the Western Hemisphere with a humane influence. This influence will more truly represent the sentiments of the American people than the influence of all the corporations of the United States, and is in strong contrast with those capitalists who are eternally crying "Business, business," and "Dollars, dollars."

Above all things, the Pan-American Federation of Labor should stand as a guard on watch to protect the Western Hemisphere from being overrun by military domination from any quarter.

The Conference Committee desires to impress upon its brother workers throughout Pan-America that in its opinion each national organization should be autonomous within the jurisdiction of its own country. The Conference Committee stands for the right of the workers of every American country to work out their own problems in accord with their ideals and highest conceptions.

Authorized by the A. F. of L., the E. C. held a most important conference in Washington, during the month of July, 1916, with representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico. It is generally conceded that this conference was one of the main factors in averting war between the two countries which at that very moment was made imminent by the Carrizal affair.

Two of the Mexican delegates participating in this conference, Baltasar Pages and Carlos Loveira, left Washington on a tour of propaganda and study through South American countries. They carried with them credentials from organized labor of the State of Yucatan, Mexico, and from President Gompers of the A. F. of L. This propaganda tour lasted for over five months, the delegates going as far south as Chile and Argentina, besides visiting other Latin-American countries. Everywhere Loveira and Pages, speaking for the ideal of a Pan-American Federation of Labor, were received with a warm welcome, and a full report was made by Mr. Loveira to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. held in Baltimore. The report cited the significant situation now existing between Chile and Peru. These countries had been at war with one another and, officially, still regard each other with suspicion. In

spite of this, however, the labor movements of these countries have established the most friendly relations, each country maintaining a fraternal delegate in the land of the other and holding labor congresses from time to time. The report went on to show that between Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Guatemala the same fraternal labor conditions exist.

The Conference Committee hopes that every bona fide labor organization in Latin-America will immediately establish correspondence, one with another, and for this purpose and to facilitate this correspondence, the Conference Committee encloses a list of names and addresses so that there may be a free interchange of opinions and suggestions to bring about the purposes expressed in this document.

It is earnestly requested that labor organizations which desire any further information in regard to matters of trade union tactics, rules, regulations and customs may freely ask this Conference Committee for them, in order that all may acquire fraternal solidarity.

The working people of all our countries should give their first attention to securing better standards of life and work:

Higher wages.

Shorter workdays.

More safe and sanitary conditions in all places of employment.

Better homes.

Better surroundings.

Prohibition of child labor.

Protection of children.

Legislative enactments to achieve and maintain equal rights:

The right of association.

The right of free assemblage.

The right of free speech.

The right of free press.

The right, singly or collectively, to withhold our labor power—the right to strike.

Latin-American labor organizations are asked to spread the suggested ideals of this conference by means of correspondence, by means of the press at their disposal, and through pamphlets. In order to facilitate this great work it is desired that all possible information in relation to unions, syndicates, federations and confederations be sent to the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C., U. S. A., giving in detail names and addresses of leaders, number of members and other matters of moment.

It is not the purpose of the Conference Committee in this circular letter to undertake to discuss all that this Pan-American Federation of Labor may encompass or portend. Suffice it to know that this Conference Committee has in mind the establishment of the most cordial and fraternal relations, co-operation for the protection and the promotion of the rights and interests of the working people—this to maintain the integrity of our several countries in order that the largest field of helpfulness may be utilized, and that the people and all the governments of Pan-America may stand as one great unit for our common protection and advancement.

It is with these thoughts and hopes uppermost in our minds and our hearts, the spirit of which we have but barely expressed, that we appeal to our fellow-workers of Pan-America to give this, our solemn purpose, their immediate, hearty and constant support.

NOTE.—The thought and hope for a Pan-American Federation of Labor have been, as is well known, long in contemplation and for nearly a year in the course of preparation. This manifesto has been in course of preparation for

several weeks, and is not based upon the present critical international situation between the United States and Germany. Indeed, it was written before the break came, but between the time of its production in the English language and its translation into Spanish, the crisis was reached and its printing held up to incorporate this paragraph. That which precedes this is all the more significant by reason of the crisis in which the United States and necessarily the Latin-American countries find themselves, and emphasizes more clearly than ever the necessity for a Pan-American Federation of Labor and a spirit of Pan-Americanism. It is hoped that the best fraternal relations shall be established between the workers and all the peoples of Pan-America with the peoples of all other countries, but come what may, at least the workers and the peoples of Pan-America must stand true, not only to their geographical situation, but for the common protection and the opportunity for the development and maintenance of their ideas and ideals of democracy, justice and freedom.

Fraternally,

Conference Committee:

SAMUEL GOMPERS
JOHN MURRAY
C. LOVEIRA
SANTIAGO IGLESIAS

American Federationist, November, 1917

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR ACTIVITIES (EDITORIAL)

On October 12, in Santiago, Chile, will convene the Latin-American Labor Congress which is composed of representatives of organized labor of Chile and Peru. After the last war between Chile and Peru, which occurred in 1884, the countries failed to re-establish diplomatic relations. As a result of that war, Chile took from Peru two of her richest provinces, with the understanding that after twenty years a referendum was to be taken in the two provinces to determine to which country they should finally belong. But commercial intercourse and economic relations proved stronger ties than the political. The workers of the two countries found their organized labor movements an agency through which mutual interest could be best promoted.

The Latin-American Labor Congress has been a potential factor in maintaining peace and checking militarist elements, for peace has been maintained despite the fact that both countries have kept their armies on a war basis. The Congress that met on October 12, Columbus Day, considered the American Federation of Labor proposal to establish between the labor movements of all American countries relations similar to those existing between Chile and Peru.

The following cablegram was sent to the Congress:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 11, 1917*

CONGRESO OBRERA LATINO AMERICANO,

Arturo Pratt 28,
Santiago, Chile.

The A. F. of L. extends greetings to the labor movements of Chile and Peru. It is our hope that the day upon which your Congress convenes, commemorating the discovery of the new world and a new epoch in world affairs, is an auspicious omen of a new and more emancipated era for American countries in which there shall be democratic organization and control of international relations. Such a purpose will be furthered by a Pan-American Labor Congress and we hope your Congress will join in that movement.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The idea of a Pan-American Federation of Labor grew out of a pact between the organized workers of Mexico and the United States, which originated in a crisis in the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The good will and understanding that grew out of that simple pact have continued potential factors for peace and better relations between the two countries. The decision of these two countries is of importance in determining the future of Pan-American labor as well as international relations. The Pan-American Conference Committee, constituted in accord with the direction of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L., has been carrying on correspondence with labor organizations of Latin-American countries explaining the purpose and the benefits of such an organization. The countries have no doubt decided this question.

Another meeting of significance to the Pan-American labor movement that will be held in the near future, is that provided in an action of the Arizona State Federation of Labor. The last convention of that organization elected a committee of five to meet with representatives from the Sonora Workingmen's Congress. Sonora is a Mexican state just across the border line from Texas which has been making progress in bettering labor conditions along the same lines as those followed in Yucatan. This international meeting will probably be held in Douglas and Agua Prieta on alternate dates. These two towns are practically one, but are divided by the international boundary line between the United States and Mexico. This meeting is of particular significance because Sonora is one of the gateways through which the Mexicans come into the southwest. There are in Arizona alone approximately 14,000 Mexican workers; organization of them, both in Sonora and in Arizona, constitutes one of the immediate problems of the labor movement.

From Arizona and the other border states, the Mexicans travel northward into all of the western states, and recently have been coming into the east. One Mexican authority estimates the number of Mexicans within the United States at over one million. Because of the mobility of Mexican workers and the fact that they have constituted a considerable element in the unskilled labor of this country, it is of the utmost importance that definite steps be taken to organize, not only the Mexicans within our country, but to be helpful in the movement to organize them within their own country. Such practical, beneficial work is an instance of what may be expected from a Pan-American Federation of Labor, operating in the affairs between nations to call attention to the human agencies in all those relations, diplomatic, industrial and commercial, and to maintain principles of human justice and freedom.

American Federationist, August, 1918

MEXICO-UNITED STATES LABOR PACT

Unheralded, unnoted save by those accustomed to study vital international affairs, have occurred international labor conferences in the capitals of Mexico and the United States for the purpose of making possible the feeling and relationship of neighborliness between the United States and Mexico.

The Mexican revolution has brought new opportunities by increasing our community of interests. The Mexican revolution represented an aspiration of our neighbors to the South that leveled the boundary line barrier between the liberty loving people of the United States and those of Mexico. Mexico became a neighbor in spirit and purpose as well as in physical fact.

Standards of living and desires are an essential basis for true neighborliness. Internationally these facts make necessary the development of a continental policy, affecting all countries occupying the American continent and democratically determined and administered. There is comparatively little to obstruct the development of such a policy with the English-speaking people of the North, but there are differences of institutions and standards of living that constitute barriers more formidable than the political boundary which separates Mexico from the United States.

These separating barriers have been the fulcrum used by exploiters in foisting a system of special privilege upon the Mexican people. Concessionaires could not maintain their vampire hold on Mexican wealth and life if they had not accentuated differences and stirred up strife and misunderstanding between the peoples of the two countries. An isolated Mexico would be more easily their victim, or an "annexed" Mexico more profitable.

The interests of the concessionaires were identified with the old regime, the científicos of Mexico. They antagonized the revolution. They have tried to force United States intervention in Mexico.

Wage-earners have learned that their interests are furthered by co-operation rather than competition. The basic facts of the workers' advancement and betterment are the same the world over. The one force in the United States to which Mexicans confidentially turned for unfailing assistance and advice was the organized labor movement. During all the years when the revolution in Mexico was in the making the organized workers of the United States were closely in touch and co-operating with efforts of Mexican fellow-workers.

When the revolution finally came it gave Mexican wage-earners the right to organize and assured an agency by which the masses of both countries could co-operate.

It was through this agency that in 1916, when war with Mexico seemed unavertible, that mutual confidence was restored and the border terrorists repulsed. When the war clouds were dark, representatives of organized labor of Yucatan and of the City of Mexico met with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the foundation was laid for an international labor movement of the two Americas.

During the months following a Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was organized at the headquarters of the A. F. of L. at Washington. This resident committee consisted of representatives of the A. F. of L., organized labor of Yucatan, of Cuba, Porto Rico and Chile. A publicity campaign was conducted setting forth the purposes of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in order that the general thought in all countries might be receptive. Early in the spring of 1918 it seemed necessary to take some definite action. Carlos Loveira, who chiefly directed the literary propaganda sent out from headquarters, made a tour of many of the South American countries explaining the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor. In order that an agreement might be reached between the labor movement of the United States and Mexico, it was decided to send a commission representing the A. F. of L. to Mexico. The commission consisted of the following: James Lord, President of the Mining Department, A. F. of L.; Santiago Iglesias, President of the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, and John Murray, member of the International Typographical Union, and secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee. The commission was given the following credential which explains the work they were to perform:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 11, 1918

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that by authority of the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned, as President thereof, and as Chairman of the Conference Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has appointed the bearers,

James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L.;

Santiago Iglesias, President of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico;

John Murray, Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee,

to meet and confer with the representatives of the workers of Mexico and with all others for the following purpose:

1. To bring about a better understanding between the workers of Mexico and of the United States.

2. To bring about a more reciprocal and co-operative course between the working people of the United States and Mexico.

3. To lay the basis for the mutual acceptance of the union cards of the bona fide unions of both countries, subject to the approval of the particular unions involved.

4. To help secure the economic, political, and social improvement of the conditions of the workers of both countries through—

(a) Economic action.

(b) Sympathetic and co-operative legislation.

(c) Sympathetic and co-operative administration.

5. To establish the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor between the workers of Mexico and of the United States, and thus help secure the extension of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the labor movements of all the Latin-American countries.

6. To endeavor to have a representative labor man or two to visit the convention of the American Federation of Labor, St. Paul, Minnesota, beginning June 10, 1918.

7. To endeavor by every honorable means and within the limits of the powers of private voluntary associated effort, to secure the co-operation of the governments of the United States and Mexico in firmly establishing the principles of protection of the peoples and the governments of all American countries against sinister influences or power from any other country or group of countries in the war.

8. To safeguard as far as it is possible the principles of autonomous independence and democratic Pan-American countries from open or insidious attempts of autocratic forms of government.

In a word, to bring about mutual good will, co-operation and confidence among the workers, the peoples, and the governments of Pan-America.

I bespeak for Messrs. Lord, Iglesias and Murray, the courteous consideration of all workers and the officers of the government of Mexico, and wish for their mission the greatest possible success.

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

*Chairman, Pan-American Federation of Labor,
President, American Federation of Labor*

The commission performed its work and two of the members returned in time to make a report directly to the St. Paul Convention of the A. F. of L.†

The third member of the commission, John Murray, remained in Mexico to arrange for the sending of a Mexican labor commission to the St. Paul Convention. The Federation of Workers Sindicatos and the Mexican Federation of Labor sent the following communication to the American labor commission:

MEXICO

FEDERACION DE SINDICATOS OBREROS DEL D. F.*
Comite Central.

To Our Fellow Workers, Santiago Iglesias, James Lord, and John Murray, Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

In regard to the propositions that we have received through the General Secretary of our association, Mr. Francisco Ramirez Plancorte,

†This report is omitted from this article but is published on pages 123-131 of this volume.

*Translation of the responses to the American Federation of Labor Commission from the Federacion De Sindicatos Obreros Del D. F., being also, almost word for word, the responses of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

which were introduced and read for consideration before our various associations which belong to the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros del Distrito Federal, and in accordance with the answer given by the Central Committee of the Confederacion Regional Obrera as instructed by the labor congress recently assembled in the city of Saltillo, Coahuila, we have great satisfaction in giving the following statement:

1. The Federation which we represent has in its program, perfectly determined the scope and work for a close understanding of the labor organizations wherever may be their locality, their good relations, solidarity, all as an indispensable means to obtain common welfare; and, therefore, we are pleased to give you our felicitations for that affinity of opinion between us which is referred to in a general way as labor unity.

2. We judge it most important and beneficial for the higher nature of organized labor that there be acceptance and interchange of union cards for identification by the labor organizations which are affiliated with the Federation; and, for this reason, we are in favor of close relations within and out of Mexico, and we consider it urgent to call upon every power and to seek every opportunity that may bring about and facilitate guarantees to the working men who immigrate from one country to another; and we hope for reciprocity on the part of the American Federation of Labor at every opportunity in this important matter.

3. We comprehend that we must procure and obtain better economic and social positions for the laboring classes by every possible means as the sure way to exercise our rights as working men within the surroundings in which we live, and we can assure you that at the opportune time every effort will be used to establish the rights of organized labor of this region; but we consider it very premature and inconvenient, at this moment, to form a labor program which might compromise our efforts and action in the matter relating to international politics.

4. We believe it is necessary and beneficial that there be established an interchange of labor representatives who will appear before the labor conventions or congresses which may be organized in any place in the world. To this end we will do our best to send our delegation to the convention at St. Paul, Minnesota, in order that this delegation can study and obtain information which may prove of great benefit. Wishing to express our sincere recognition of the attentions which we have received we hereby express our gratification.

5. We will consider satisfactorily, if circumstances permit, the proposal to assist in the international conference which is being organized for the future to be held on the border of the United States and Mexico for the purpose of considering and determining the best form in which to constitute the central committee of the Pan-American Federation to the end that there be an ennobling unification of the American working men.

6. We are profoundly convinced that it is our unmistakable duty to constantly study the best methods in order to get the necessary development of labor's personality which will bring about decisive justice in the future for all mankind and we will with much pleasure do our modest part to obtain the realization of this sublime ideal.

In conclusion: We believe it is necessary, owing to the continued increase of capitalist organization everywhere, that such organizations of capital be confronted by organizations of labor wherever the former may manifest itself, in order to avoid the inhuman exploitation to which all unorganized labor is subjected.

We conclude by giving you our complete assurance that all we have stated above is the conception of our sincere thoughts in regard to the matters discussed. And we take this happy opportunity to express our appreciation of your estimable conduct and send a fraternal salute from the workers of Mexico to the workers of North America.

Mexico, June 7, 1918.

FRANCISCO RAMIREZ PLANCARTE

For the Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District by the Executive Committee.

It was further arranged the Mexican Labor Commission should be present at the St. Paul Convention. That commission consisted of the following: Luis N. Morones, Secretary General, Mexican Federation of Labor; Salvador Alvarez, representing Sindicatos of Mexico; Ignacio Moralez, representing Organized Mill Workers of Mexico.

When this commission, together with John Murray, left the border line they sent the following telegram to the President of the A. F. of L. at St. Paul:

LAREDO, TEXAS, June 16, 1918.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Pres. A. F. of L.*,
Convention, St. Paul, Minn.

Commission representing Mexican Federation of Labor and Sindicatos of Mexico arrived in Nuevo Laredo today and sends greetings to convention. Being too late to attend convention, we desire to have conference in Washington with committee appointed by your convention. Answer.

LUIS N. MORONES
Secretary General, Mexican Federation of Labor.
SALVADOR ALVAREZ,
Representing Sindicatos of Mexico
IGNACIO MORALES
Representing Organized Mill Workers of Mexico
JOHN MURRAY

Inasmuch as the St. Paul Convention was held only six months after the 1917 convention, by the time the telegram from the Mexican commission reached St. Paul it was evident that the work of the convention would have been completed before the commission could reach that city. Therefore, the commission was requested to come to Washington for conferences with representative labor men at headquarters.

A formal meeting of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was held on June 27, 1918. Mr. Luis N. Morones and Mr. Salvador Alvarez represented the Mexican workers, Ignacio Moralez having been taken seriously ill at Laredo. Mutual expressions of fraternity and good-will were exchanged. The Mexican delegates presented their credentials, explaining that they had been authorized to attend the St. Paul Convention.

Conferences were held at Washington extending over several days in which the resident members of the E. C. and the officers of the various departments and labor representatives at headquarters participated. Proposals were drawn up in the conferences. The committee requested President Gompers to give to the Mexican commissioners a letter explaining the nature of the proposed Pan-American Federation of Labor and incorporating the joint agreement adopted. President Gompers' letter follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1918

To the Commissioners from Mexico: Luis N. Morones, representing the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), and Salvador Alvarez, representing the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros Del Distrito Federal de Mexico (Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District of Mexico):

In the name of the American Federation of Labor, I express appreciation of your fraternal mission to this country because of the manifest desire to bring about better understanding and more advantageous relations between the people of the United States and of Mexico. Our countries have both benefitted in the past through conferences participated in by labor representatives of our two countries which meeting during a crisis in the relations between our two Republics emphatically recorded the desire for peace between our peoples and thus give power to our chief executives to maintain this great idea. We realize that there are powerful forces seeking to subordinate the best interests of the masses of our two countries to further their personal privilege; therefore, we deem it of fundamental importance that everything shall be done to promote free intercourse between the masses of our countries and to establish agencies whereby the desire and the ideals of the common people shall be given an opportunity for expression. It was in furtherance of these purposes that the American Federation of Labor proposed a Pan-American Federation of Labor, and has sought conferences with the working people of Mexico. As has been well said by a noted Mexican high in the confidences and offices of this country, "it remains with the organized labor movements of our countries to bring about a fraternal understanding that even diplomacy might not be able to accomplish."

In addition to the international conferences in which you have participated here in Washington during the past few days with the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, I desire, in the name of the American Federation of Labor and the working people of the United States, to urge your earnest co-operation in the following proposals drawn up and approved in our conferences:

"As well expressed in the responses of the commissioners representing the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor), and the Federacion de Sindicatos Obreros Del Distrito Federal de Mexico (Federation of Workers Syndicates of the Federal District of Mexico), wherein it is declared that:

"Fifth. We will consider satisfactorily, if circumstances permit, the proposal to assist in the international conferences planned for the near future on the frontier of the United States and Mexico, to study and decide upon the best form in which to constitute the Pan-American Federation Central Committee to the end that there be an ennobling unification of the workers of America,' and as clearly set forth in the credentials of the commissioners sent to Mexico by the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

"5. To establish the permanency of the Pan-American Federation of Labor between the workers of Mexico and of the United States, and thus help secure the extension of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the labor movements of all the Latin American countries,' and, in view of these things, a delegation from Mexico having been sent to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, recently held in St. Paul, Minnesota, but for lack of time was not able to at-

tend the sessions of the same, it having closed on the tenth day, and the delegation having been invited by President Gompers of the A. F. of L. to a meeting in the offices of the American Federation of Labor at which were present the comrades, Samuel Gompers, Luis N. Morones, Salvador Alvarez, James Lord, John Murray, Santiago Iglesias and certain members of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, Vice-Presidents of the A. F. of L. in Washington, and having named a special committee to submit proposals to the labor movement of Mexico for delivery to the commissioners of Mexico for the consideration of the organized workers of the sister Republic, the aforementioned committee presents the following recommendations and solutions:

"First. That an international conference be held at the earliest possible date, at the most convenient place on the frontier, at which shall be represented the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico.

"Second. That President Carranza and President Wilson of the two Republics be earnestly requested to be present at this conference for such periods as they may deem proper.

"Third. That the governors of the border states be invited to attend this international conference.

"Fourth. That the subjects for consideration at the international conference shall be:

"(a) The establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor,

"(b) The establishment of better conditions for workingmen who emigrate from one country to another.

"(c) The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the United States and Mexico,

"(d) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the peoples of the United States and of Mexico,

"(e) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements, the peoples and the republics of Mexico and of the United States."

It is tentatively proposed that the conference shall begin in Laredo, Texas, Wednesday, November 13, 1918, to continue until the business before the conference shall have been completed. When definite replies to this invitation have been received further and detailed information will be conveyed.

This communication and the conference suggested are but the fore-runners for what is hoped and believed will inaugurate the movement that shall permanently establish an international labor movement of which all Pan-American countries shall be component and equal parts.

World events of the recent past have demonstrated the necessity for organizing and maintaining agencies for democratizing relations between nations and for directing international dealings in accord with principles of democracy and human justice. These ideals can be accomplished only when the people themselves through their representatives are participating in the molding and determination of international affairs. We realize that the lives of nations are now so closely inter-related that no one country can maintain the rights and protect the welfare of its men and women without the co-operation of other nations. So closely identified are the interests and welfare of the working people of Mexico and the United States, and so slight a barrier does our boundary line interpose to economic and commercial organization, that it is indispensable to maintain friendly relations and a constructive pro-

gram and agencies for mutual self-protection and advancement of the working people of our two countries. These mutual interests are keenly appreciated by the working people of the United States as is proved by the declarations and instructions adopted by several conventions of the organized labor movement of this country.

In the name of the working people of the United States, I ask you to convey to the working people and the citizens of Mexico generally, the good will and desire of the working people and the liberty-loving people of the United States for mutually advantageous relations with the people of your country. Convey to the organized labor movement of Mexico our deep appreciation of their action in authorizing your mission to the workers of the United States and our earnest desire that they shall approve and co-operate in the additional program suggested.

Please keep me advised as to the wishes and decisions of the Mexican labor movement

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

The plan agreed upon in these conferences is the practical method of solving the difficulties that interfered and still further threaten to interfere with friendly relations between Mexico and the United States. By organizing international agencies that stand for mutual justice and co-operation for common interests, power and opportunity is taken from those predatory elements which seek merely their own gain and special privileges at the expense of the peoples of both countries. A meeting of the minds and wills of the masses of two countries represents a new conception of international diplomacy and a new era in international relations and organizations.

When the results of these co-operative efforts shall have proven the mutual advantages to both Mexico and the United States we feel assured that the beneficent influences will reach our fellow-workers of all Pan-American countries and genuinely and firmly establish the Pan-American Federation of Labor to the lasting friendship, benefit and fraternity of all the peoples of these countries.

American Federationist, August, 1918

AMERICAN ORGANIZED LABOR CRUSADERS, FOR LIBERTY

By SANTIAGO IGLESIAS

When President Gompers appointed a commission to go to Mexico to confer with the representatives of the workers of the Republic of Mexico, he said: "We must safeguard as far as it is possible the principles of autonomy, independence and democracy in Pan-American countries from open or insidious attempts of autocratic forms of government."

We know that since the opening of the Panama Canal there has been a growing realization that there will soon exist closer political, economic, and social relations between the labor movements of the Western hemisphere. As is well known, the capitalists of North America and some European countries in combination with financial interests and officials of the various governments, are scattering millions and millions of dollars through Latin-America, acquiring concessions and business properties which are disposed of to them by Latin-American politicians and speculators without taking into consideration the needs and rights of the masses of the people, the masses of the people who by these transactions have their future endangered for decades and perhaps centuries.

If the employers and capitalists of Pan-America thus unite for the protection of their common advantage, it becomes all the more evident that the wage-earners of these countries must also unite for their common protection and betterment.

Out of all the chaotic mixings, strivings and plottings of the money trust and profiteers of the nation with conflicts forced upon the Latin-American peoples, one sees steadily emerging and growing the desire and determination of these financial agents to control the governments, because of the promised power and wealth to be won out of cheap labor and even more cheap land.

The conventions of the American Federation of Labor in recent years passed resolutions and gave authority to President Samuel Gompers and its Executive Council to organize a Pan-American Federation of Labor in order to unite all the labor movements of the Latin Republics with the great labor movement of this nation and to instill a true conception of the value of human life, and to make human relations the chief concern of these international relations.

During the year of 1915 the first Pan-American financial conference took place in Washington with the purpose of considering better financial, industrial, and commercial relations and the development of the national resources of the countries of the Western hemisphere. The delegates to this conference represented all the great financial, industrial and commercial interests of Latin-American countries, the steamship companies, the mines, the sugar, the tobacco, the banks, railroads and telephones, and all the great corporations. That conference dealt with matters and policies that were to be of a far-reaching consequence, not only in international relations between the American-Latin Republics, but in the internal development of the same countries. President Gompers at that time stated:

"It requires no great imagination or discernment to understand that these able representatives of the interests would so plan and manipulate conditions and events, that the great corporate interests of the various countries would be in a position to control, not only the industries and commerce within their own countries, but international regulations for commerce and industry. In other words, this conference plainly would enable the corporate interests to entrench themselves in a powerful position that would require years of struggle to enable the people of the nations, the masses of the wage-earners, to secure for themselves protection and a right to opportunities in accord with their importance. This conference would determine the tone of international relations, the standards and ideals that would dictate policies and would thus establish a whole line of intangible powerful influence that would make doubly difficult the age-long struggle for freedom that the workers everywhere have waged."

The employing interest of all the countries feel the indentity of interests and there is closer association, if not a greater organization, of the most influential employers of both the North and South American countries. In most of these countries the conditions of the masses of working people are deplorable. Plutocratic forces of the United States are taking the good name of this great nation and spreading among these peoples a wrong conception of American ideas and ideals. So it will be the duty of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to show to the world that its purpose is to permeate the Western hemisphere with humane influence. This influence will more truly represent the sentiments of the American people than the influence of all the corporations of the United States and be in strong contrast with those capitalists' ideas and sentiments which are eternally crying, "Business, business," and "Dollars, dollars."

The American working people as represented by the A. F. of L., should give their first attention to the securing of better standards of life and work

for those peoples of the Latin Republics who are being invaded by American plutocratic combinations.

The American labor movement must go in the name and with the sentiments of the American people, their ideas of civilization and human rights, to the peoples of Latin-America. The A. F. of L., through organized labor's efforts, has fought and is fighting with many struggles, for higher wages, shorter workdays, safe and better sanitary conditions in all places of employment; it is fighting for better homes, better surroundings; prohibition of child labor and protection of the children.

It is also securing the enactment of legislation for the maintenance of equal rights of expression, free assemblage, free speech, free press and the right to control and act collectively in labor affairs, the right to strike and the right of proportional representation of labor on all the nation's councils, commissions and committees, which have the power to deal with the affairs of the nation.

It is with these thoughts and hopes uppermost in the minds and hearts of the American labor leaders, that the spirit of fellowship will obtain the desired end and make possible the building up a great Pan-American Federation of Labor.

American Federationist, August, 1918

MESSAGE FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT OF CHILE

The labor movement of Chile is one of the best organized among the South American countries due to the fact that freedom of speech and association is respected as well as the right to strike and to make agreement as to wages, hours of labor and regulations for better homes for workers.

The political ideals of the Chilean workers are profoundly democratic. They have already won prestige in winning several seats for labor in the National Congress in order to enact legislation of modern democratic character for the welfare of the masses.

The most prosperous institution that we have in our country is the Labor Federation of Chile which is a modern organization and which we hope will become in a very short time powerful enough to deal with all the problems and difficulties pertaining to relations between capital and labor.

I have been fortunate myself in being one of its founders and today I have the honor of being its delegate before the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee in the United States.

When I came to this great country I had the honor to receive from the Federation of Labor of Chile my credential obligating me to do my best for the establishment of fraternal relations between the labor organizations of this country and that of Chile.

Many other labor institutions of my country have spontaneously accepted this great and noble idea of solidarity. I have taken a very deep interest in this cause and it is one of my great desires to help in accomplishing its practical realization.

I understand that the prospects for the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor are very bright and I am certain that all masses of, workmen of all South American countries will respond to the call to make good this aspiration, especially Chile, which maintains a very deep spirit of solidarity and union toward all the countries and their brothers.

When I return to my country next year I will have the great pleasure to carry on with me the most faithful expressions of the thoughts of the American organizations presenting them to their Latin American brothers with the view that some day in the near future we can meet together in fraternal sentiments and with the good feeling of every brother and sister delegate from every

country and every people of this great continent to constitute forever the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

CARDENIO GONZALEZ

Delegate of the Chile Federation of Labor

American Federationist, August, 1918

FROM THE WORKERS OF CUBA

Having been informed of the remarkable convention that you held at St. Paul and of the report rendered before your national assembly by the commission that was sent to Mexico and also being interested in the conferences that your committee have held with the Mexican labor delegates and those of North America, I am very pleased to highly applaud the continual relations between United States and all those peoples which are willing to join into the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

When each of those countries of the Pan-American continent can send a labor delegate to Washington, there will be some easy way for the realization of this great association, which, as I understand it, will be a real fact immediately after the termination of this world war, which at this time is taking the mental and economic power of the American workers.

In Cuba, with a few exceptions, all the labor organizations of the republic have given me the honor of representing that labor body of my country with the duty of giving you all special thought and information to help out the work of building up the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

I hope when this great association has been formed all the laborers of the new continent will directly receive the benefits of the social, economical progress, solidarity and culture from this great labor body of America.

In Cuba, in the great capital of Havana, lower wages still remain; ten, eleven and twelve hours' work prevail and most of the strikes are being lost owing to the importation of contract laborers from Spain, Jamaica and even the skilled mechanics from the United States.

I hope when this terrible European war brings about the great victory for true universal democracy the labor cause will win.

ANTONIO CORREA

President, delegate for the Cuban Labor Movement of the Pan-American Federation of Labor

Brooklyn, N. Y., July 15, 1918

American Federationist, November, 1918

LABOR OF THE AMERICAS JOINS HANDS (EDITORIAL)

Not the least of world-significant events of the year will take place on the United States-Mexican border on November 13, when the first formal pan-American labor conference opens its sessions. The American Federation of Labor has long manifested a keen interest in developing fraternal relations with the labor movements of the other nations on the American continents. The history of the development of these relations, and their bearing upon the destinies of nations, would fill a sizable and most interesting book. But thus far these relations have been what might be called formative—perhaps just a bit more than tentative; there has been no established relationship, although emissaries have traveled back and forth now and then bearing messages of greeting and good will.

Now, however, comes a chapter in which an entirely new phase of pan-American labor relationship is to be chronicled. Delegates from the labor movements of many American nations will gather to discuss together the problems of the workers and to plan mutual helpfulness. From the United States, from Mexico, from Cuba, from Porto Rico, from the South American nations,

delegates will come bearing the credentials of their labor organizations, to make what all will hope shall one day be a great pan-American Federation of Labor, working mightily for the cause of the working people throughout the two continents.

What has been, let us hope, is but a slight indication of what may be for if that is true, the future is surely bright.

It is not the fault of today that in the long years stretching back into the past the peoples to the south have hesitated to believe that only altruism came out of the north.

The spirit of America today is in truth the spirit of democracy. It is the will of the American people today that democracy shall mean something that can be understood and felt in every home. No agency in the United States can so adequately interpret this spirit to the people of Latin America as the organized working people. And so, in clasping hands with the workers to the south the American trade union movement is serving in the highest sense the whole American people—serving, in fact, all of the people of both American continents.

The working people of these American nations are going to come together for mutual helpfulness, for mutual understanding, to join thought upon those problems that are common to all workers.

We seek and value interchange of thought today as never before. The destinies of peoples are more closely linked. The world is smaller in every sense except the geographical. During the year the American Federation of Labor has sent four missions to foreign lands seeking interchange of thought and information. It must be the thought everywhere that interchange must grow more perfect and frequent. Nothing so makes for trust and understanding; nothing so routs suspicion and undoes distrust.

The world is shaken with great and terrible doings today; likewise and at the same time it is warmed and comforted in the light of wonderful advances for human kind. In magnificent fury the people of democracy are tearing away the barricades of bondage, while in exaltation they rear magnificent new edifices of liberty.

The world is witnessing a welter of death and destruction, and a marvelous surge of creation and idealism.

The conference on the Rio Grande will be far from European battle fields, but its spirit will be in keeping with the spirit of the whole free world that is fighting today to keep its freedom and develop it. It will be the spirit of men and women working together to make better and fuller and finer the life of all humanity, working through mutual trust and understanding and helpfulness, with the utmost of freedom for all and the utmost of co-operation among all.

President Gompers will attend this conference. He will have come from a great mission to our heroic allies across the Atlantic. It will be fitting to come from Europe to the Rio Grande. No man has had more deeply at heart the cause that will find its expression in the coming gathering.

And so, presently there will be something happening about which historians will one day write—something of hope and help for the men and women who work.

American Federationist, November, 1918

MEXICO—THE DAY AFTER THE WAR

What the Coming International Labor Conference May Mean in the Life of Nations.

By JOHN MURRAY

Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee

Public diplomacy will take the place of secret diplomacy on the border line between the United States of Mexico and the United States of America at the

gathering of the International Labor Conference in Laredo, Texas, beginning on November 13, 1918.

Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

Such words as these from Woodrow Wilson—unquestionably echoing the convictions of Venustiano Carranza—have urged the peoples of the two sister Republics to action, and the American Federation of Labor and the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana, representing the organized expression of the interests of that class which makes up the great majority of the peoples of the two countries, namely, the wage-working class, have agreed to meet and come to an international understanding.

The delegates will assemble on the border which for over half a century has been historically a "dark and bloody ground," and, to this day, teems with possibilities of deadly strife.

Secrecy, diplomatic and otherwise, has been the prime cause of border warfare, invasion, and intervention.

It will be the prime purpose of the International Labor Conference to make public those facts which—the peoples of the two countries once clearly knowing—will abolish for all time the possibility of war between the two Republics.

Upon the very face of all this it must be plain that as the scope of discussion in this conference covers questions dealing with the economic and social welfare of over a million and a half of Mexican wage-workers now in the United States—and the consequent effect upon the standards of living in this country—the interests involved take a much wider field than problems presented by an ordinary labor convention.

Both the representatives of organized labor in Mexico and of the United States have been deeply impressed by the gravity and the scope of the present international situation. The necessities of the workers dovetail immediately into the necessities of the entire peoples of the two countries.

Proof of this is shown in the following proposals for discussion at the Laredo Conference which have been presented, officially, by the labor men of Mexico and of the United States.

First come the propositions presented by the American Federation of Labor:

First That an International Conference be held at the earliest possible date, at which shall be represented the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico.

Second. That President Carranza and President Wilson, of the two Republics, be earnestly requested to be present at this conference for such periods as they may deem proper.

Third. That the governors of the border states be invited to attend this International Conference.

Fourth. That the subjects for consideration at the International Conference shall be:

(a) The establishment of the pan-American Federation of Labor.
(b) The establishment of better conditions for workingmen who emigrate from one country to another.

(c) The establishment of a better understanding and relationship between the peoples of the United States and Mexico.

(d) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the protection and promotion of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the people of the United States and of Mexico.

(e) To utilize every lawful and honorable means for the purpose of cultivating the most favorable and friendly relations between the labor movements, the peoples and the republics of Mexico and of the United States.

Follow the propositions of the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana:

First. Appointment of one or two delegates by the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana with residence in the United States near the American Federation of Labor, and upon whom should devolve the duty of organizing and watching the interests of Mexican workers living in that country, in coöperation with the American Federation of Labor.

Second. That both the American Federation of Labor and the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana appoint permanent representatives in the cities near the border and ports of embarkation so that they see to it that workers going from one country to another should be the object of the attention which they undoubtedly deserve.

Third. That facilities be granted to Mexican workers which would place them in position, if they are willing, to join the labor organizations in the United States, and that without curtailment of the support and privilege which such organizations allow to their own members.

Fourth. That in view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor is already in correspondence on its own account with the workers of Central and South America in order to appraise them of the projects of unification, it seems to the Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana that delegates from its organization also should visit the above mentioned countries, so that the opinion of the organized workers of these countries be known as to the convenience of holding as soon as possible an International Conference.

Fifth. That, in the meantime, while the delegation sent to Latin-American countries to get information leading to a truthful knowledge of their point of view for the proper organization of said committee is at work, the present temporary committee of the Pan-American Labor Federation should limit its action to the development of our plan as stated in our propositions.

Sixth. That an agreement be reached as to the best way for finding honorable means to exert influence so that justice and protection be imparted to those workmen who, for various reasons, are deprived of their liberty in the jails of the United States.

Seventh. That a date and place be fixed where the representatives of the two organizations should again meet together, so that they hear officially the report upon the mutual work for the before-mentioned unification.

We approve the invitation the American Federation of Labor proposes to extend to President Wilson and President Carranza and the governors of the border states to attend the International Conference. The presence of these officials will mark a precedent which will demonstrate that the influence of the two labor organizations has succeeded in bringing them together at the conference so that they may obtain first-hand information of the aspirations and sentiments of the working people of their respective countries.

We believe it will be more convenient to hold the conference in the city of Eagle Pass on the date proposed by you.

And finally, we consider it opportune to mention the necessity of having the same number of delegates chosen by both organizations. Therefore, we propose that each organization choose twenty, taking care that the delegates represent the greatest number of crafts possible, namely, miners, textile workers, railroad men, machinists, electricians, carpenters, printers, and, if it is possible, farm laborers.

With but a small fraction of this million and a half of Mexican wage-workers in the United States organized into their respective trades, starvation wages and cut-throat competition along the border have existed for fifty years.

An instance typical of the situation presents itself in the onion-raising industry in Texas. Fortunes were made in onions and men dubbed financiers for their enormous takings in the onion industry. The facts are that onions need an immense amount of hand work in their cultivation, and Mexican labor could be procured at the rate of forty-five cents a day per laborer. Out of this forty-five cents the Mexican was compelled to board and lodge himself.

War came. Millions of American wage-workers entered the army and severed themselves from production. The labor needs of the United States were acute. Frank expression of all this has just been made in San Antonio by T. A. McLean, representing the United States Department of Labor. Mr. McLean said:

It takes from six to ten men behind the lines to keep every soldier at the front, and with the proposed draft extensions there will be an army of 6,000,000 men within a year. That will mean at least 36,000,000 workers behind that army to keep it effective.

All together, the army will number about 42,000,000 soldiers, industrial and military—and all of that out of a population of 100,000,000, the greater number of which are women and children! What does that mean? It means that you business men will have to dispense with every unnecessary workman.

With these things in mind it was plain why Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson decided against the demands of the millionaire landowners of California and the Northwest calling for the importation of Asiatic labor and turned to Mexico as the most available source of labor supply. He stated freely that it was his conviction that the Mexican has proved his ability, when organized as a union man, to uphold the standards of living in the United States.

It has ever been the position of the American Federation of Labor that groups of working peoples coming into, or already within the nation, should not be permitted to lower standards of living maintained by organized labor in the United States. Race questions, creed questions, or color questions enter not at all into this basic proposition. As a matter of fact those problems of labor more particularly under consideration by the American Federation of Labor have to do with wage-workers after they come into the United States. The American Federation of Labor is in no sense an employment office for the labor of other countries. But, it follows, as surely as water runs down hill, that as soon as the foreign wage-worker arrives in this country the American Federation of Labor will use every endeavor to organize him, not only for his self-protection, but for the protection of all American labor.

So much for labor problems pure and simple.

Now for the consideration of those larger questions necessarily involved in this, the first unchained, untrammelled, non-political, non-diplomatic meeting of the peoples of the two countries. Questions of property, questions of boundary lines, questions of concessions, questions of claims will have no place in a conference composed of the common peoples, the wage-workers.

Clean hands—no one can show them on either side of the border except the wage workers.

Bankers, financiers, promoters, are all in the discard in meetings where the conferees will arrive at "open covenants of peace."

The International Labor Conference will mark out a road for the people of the United States and of Mexico to travel upon on "The Day" which may come tomorrow, "The Day" upon which hostilities cease in Europe. The road of labor will be one of peace.

But there is another road mapped out by other interests for the United States to follow—here it is:

"The Day," as depicted by *The Annalist*, that magazine of finance and commerce published in New York City, will see the beginning of a warfare as intense, drastic, and concentrated as any military operation.

The Annalist faithfully reflects a certain grouping of commercial minds in the United States of America which look eagerly for "The Day" in Pan-America when the news will be flashed from the European battlefields that the order has been given to "cease firing."

Says *The Annalist*:

The trade offensive when it comes, will in great part be fought out in the fertile fields of Latin America.

Will we be prepared for the fight?

Will we have grasped the gigantic opportunity to pave the way to trade dominance when peace returns?

Let the people of the United States consider well the beginnings and the endings of these two roads—one road to peace; one road to conquest.

Will "The Day" see the United States of America—the money market of the world—turning her eyes from the problems of Europe, withdrawing her fleets and armies to the western hemisphere, and concentrating her powers upon the commercial conquest of Latin-America?

Will "The Day" bring open demands upon Mexico that she abrogate her constitution wherein it declares for the national ownership of petroleum?

Will "The Day" show Mexico to be devastated by her "neutrality" and commercial isolation, a wreck of ruined machinery and people crippled by want?

Will "The Day" disclose the eyes of all Latin America fixed on Mexico, watching, watching the things that are happening in the Republic south of the Rio Grande with the conviction that the fate of Mexico is the fate of all Latin-American Republics?

But one organized power can save Pan-America from "The Day" now being planned by profiteering and commercialized wealth in the United States; namely, the American Federation of Labor joined in action with the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana and linked in a fraternal chain with the organized labor movements of the entire western hemisphere.

There is but one sole medium of trusted intercourse left between the peoples of Latin America and the peoples of the United States—left untouched by a suspicion of bargain and sale, claims and concessions, intervention and conquest—and that medium is organized labor.

Prophetic were the words of President Wilson when he said:

When you reflect how wonderful a storehouse of treasure Mexico is, you can see how her future must depend upon peace and honor, so that nobody shall exploit her.

And again where he says to the Mexican editors:

Peace can only come by trust. As long as there is suspicion there is going to be misunderstanding, and as long as there is misunderstanding there is going to be trouble.

These fraternal words of President Wilson can be made into actual, living facts only by the formation of a Pan-American Federation of Labor.

American Federationist, December, 1918

UNITING PAN-AMERICA (EDITORIAL)

Pan-American Labor took its stand for principles of Freedom and Democracy in the conference held in Laredo, November 13 to 16. In this conference the Pan-American Federation of Labor was organized, with Samuel Gompers

as President; John Murray, member International Typographical Union, Secretary for the English speaking people, and Canuto Vargas, member United Mine Workers of America, Secretary for the Spanish speaking people. Headquarters of the Federation are to be in Washington, D. C., where all of the officials will have offices.

The resolution in which the new Federation laid down its position in relation to the peace about to be determined upon was submitted to the conference by the President of the A. F. of L. It is in substance and essence the declaration adopted by the September Inter-Allied Labor conference held in London.

The resolution in full follows:

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the first Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention, meeting at such a critical time in the world's history realizing that the problems now confronting humanity in the building of an enduring peace are no less acute than the problems of war, and being deeply and fervently desirous that in the reshaping of the world's affairs the most critical consideration be given those principles that make for an enduring peace and create equality of opportunity for the peoples of all nations, and

WHEREAS, The time has arrived when the organized labor movement, with full understanding of its rights, its power and resources, its value and contributions to society, must bring forward its most profound, constructive thought, calculated to establish and insure the principles of true democracy; therefore be it

Resolved, That we declare that the following essential fundamental principles must underlie the peace as well as the principles of all civilized nations:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations,

No political or economic restrictions meant simply to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others,

No reprisals based upon vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs,

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle "No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live,"

No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace,

And be it further,

Resolved, That in addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the Treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we are entering, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged,

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor,

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

Trial by jury should be established.

These resolutions present in concise form the platform upon which the organized workers of the world's free nations stand today. The vote cast for adoption in Laredo was unanimous.

The voice that speaks for the principles here laid down is the voice of the greatest constructive force in society—a voice that the world can not afford to ignore, a voice that the world will do well to heed with the utmost seriousness and consideration.

The great fundamentals of a proper peace are in this declaration. Without the fundamentals here outlined there can not be a proper peace.

The Laredo conference knew well the import of the declaration, weighed it well, and finally placed its unanimous seal upon it as the declaration of the organized workers of Pan-America, speaking in unison with the organized workers of the democracies of Europe.

The Laredo conference opened a great new chapter in the history of this hemisphere. Its deliberations were careful and thoughtful. Its acts were the acts of earnest men. It now is a permanent body, destined to occupy a place of importance in the affairs of men and women who live and work upon the American continents.

It is not possible here to go fully into the work of the Laredo conference, but in the next issue of the *American Federationist* a complete account may be given.

Labor's Book of All Colors

From the American Federationist for November and December, 1915; January, May and November, 1917, and April, 1918.

November, 1915.

Despite all obstacles the labor movements affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions have not been entirely disrupted; they have been able to keep in touch with each other. The correspondence between the representatives of the national labour movements reveals the strength of the fraternal ties that still bind the workers even of the warring nations. Communication between the representatives of the labour movement of our country and of the movements of the belligerent countries has met with very little interference. This correspondence is particularly illuminating in that it reflects the emotions and the minds of the masses of the people. It is invaluable in attempting to extend international relations and to devise plans and policies for taking advantage of opportunities that shall exist at the close of hostilities in order that those opportunities may be used for the promotion of justice, democracy, and humanity. For this reason the following correspondence is published that it may be available for the information of all, and for the use of the delegates to the San Francisco Convention when proposals relative to the international situation shall be under consideration.—S. G.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS

BERLIN, August 27, 1914

DEAR APPLETON: Our international relations, which a few weeks ago we thought were extraordinarily well established, have been, through the frightful declaration of war, for the immediate future rendered impossible. With the neutral states, at least, I shall ever strive, even though in the most fugitive manner, to preserve our connections intact, in order to show, on the one hand, that the war has no influence upon the good relations between the workers of these countries and those of Germany, and, on the other hand, in order to receive occasional news of the conditions in these lands, or to forward such news of Germany.

In the foreign labour press I have found certain news over events in Germany the falseness of which must have been recognized by the editors of those papers. Such information as that our labour organizations are injured in their activity, that some of our political representatives are imprisoned, or have been even shot, is absolutely without foundation.

On the contrary, the state authorities confer with representatives of the trade unions and of the Social Democratic party in a great number of matters, when advice is given as to how to mitigate the needs of the unemployed, how to create means of employment, and how the work of harvesting can be done.

Further, I read in the foreign labour press that foreigners are being treated in Germany in the most vulgar manner. This assertion also cannot be in the least substantiated. Apart from a few irresponsible people, who have nothing to do with the labour movement, and who are far removed from political life, who have against a foreigner here and there jostled, all foreigners at present in Germany are treated in the most friendly manner, and are well cared for.

We regret exceedingly that such news can be contributed to the foreign labour press as puts our organized German labour movement in a very unfavorable light, and we wish most urgently that the editors of these labour newspapers, after the experiences which for years they have had with the German working class, would examine such dreadful news very carefully before publication, and be quite sure as to its veracity.

That the Social Democratic party has decided to grant war loan can not, by those in other lands, be regarded as a reproach if this fact is borne in mind, that Germany found itself at war with both Russia and France. In this matter the Social Democratic parties of other lands, which have greater parliamentary

influence than we, have done just the same. In any case, our decision can not be so interpreted that we have abandoned the ideals of the international significance of the labour movement.

I hope this letter will reach you, and that soon I shall have news from you.

With fraternal greetings,

C. LEGIEN

BERLIN, August 27, 1914

MY DEAR GOMPERS: I have endeavored by wire and letter to state a few facts of interest to you in regard to the conditions now obtaining in Germany. Not knowing, however, whether my communications reached you, I am handing this letter to Brother Meyling, an American who has been employed in our office for some time.

I mentioned the fact that the American press news about our conditions here are absolutely false, in my previous communications to you. You have, no doubt, meanwhile received further proof of this statement, for the truth must have been published by now, even in your country. I therefore refrain from repeating previous statements.

You may rest assured that we have done everything possible to preserve peace and to prevent war, but unfortunately our power was too limited yet, and we have not been able to make this terrible war impossible, in which almost all of the civilized nations of Europe are involved. Even Japan has declared war against us, a fact to be proud of in a certain sense, although I doubt whether this can also be said for those who pushed the Japs on the warpath.

Time alone will judge this action of a so-called civilized nation of western Europe, or whether it behooves a civilized people to cut German-American cables for the purpose of preventing Germany to oppose the most abominable lies that are being circulated by British and French press agencies in regard to Germany. I am happy to say that the British working class, as far as they belong to the organized labor movement, have nothing to do with these and similar shameful acts. We learn from occasional news that has leaked through—no direct communication being possible—that the British workers too have fought bravely against the danger of war. This fact alone will doubtlessly facilitate the British and German workers joining hands again—as soon as this bloody struggle is ended—to fight for their common interests against the employing class. Our international movement must not and shall not die, although the workers of various lands are compelled today to use deadly weapons against their own brothers on the other side of the frontiers.

The sacrifice necessary for this terrible war must be tremendous, but we hope this may be one more reason to end wars forever. I firmly believe that such a cry of terror and shame will go round the civilized world as soon as the loss of human life is made known, that this must be the natural result. I think all the nations of western Europe will have to unite then for the sake of humanity and of civilization. Such a union would put a stop to the fearful influence exercised for more than 150 years by Russia over European politics, and perhaps make Russia a civilized nation. Russia has succeeded in getting the nations of western Europe to fight each other, to spend senseless sums on war preparations and, the most terrible of all, to make the well advanced French and German workers cut each others' throats, who would otherwise continue their united efforts against their common enemy, the capitalist. It may sound utopian to utter any opinion as to the end, but I think a British-French-German alliance after the war will be the only means by which to save the present state of civilization of western Europe.

Our trade unions are endeavoring hard to support the great army of unemployed. They are, in these endeavors, assisted by the government, which, although opposing us up to quite recently, appears to have learned now the importance and value of the trade union movement in such critical times as these. We may even some day be thanked for having developed our organizations in spite of a government entirely guided by the employing class. Things are being carried out for which we have been fighting many years—in vain!

Unemployment benefit on the so-called "Ghent" scheme, for instance. Berlin has started in this direction already and other cities are following the lead thus given. No doubt the state as such will have to do the same before long.

I am afraid we shall have to give up our long cherished plan of meeting in San Francisco next year. It will scarcely be possible to meet in Frisco even if we were to succeed in re-uniting the trade unions of all lands before that time. Our unions will not be able to afford the expense and I am afraid conditions will be worse in all other countries affected by the war. The presidents of our unions, furthermore, will be badly wanted over here for the next few years, for the difficult work of putting new life into the unions.

I am writing in haste, not knowing whether you will ever read this letter. As soon as I get a reply from you, however, perhaps via Brother Appleton, I will write more fully and also send receipts for the money received from Brother Morrison.

With best wishes to all mutual friends,

Yours fraternally,

More good wishes from yours sincerely,

C. LEGIEN, *President*

H. BAUMEISTER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 12, 1914

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

COLLEAGUES: Enclosed you will find copy of a letter received about a week ago from Mr. Carl Legien, President of the International Federation of Trade Union Centers. It was received at Washington while I was at Chicago. Secretary Morrison telegraphed me asking whether it should be published in the *Weekly News Letter*. I answered by telegraph as follows:

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 20, 1914

Mr. FRANK MORRISON,
Ouray Building,
Washington, D. C.

Copy of Legien's letter received. It must not be published at this time. It would arouse unfavorable comment and feeling and react injuriously to him and the movement in that country. Am mailing agreement reached Cigar Stogie Makers. Am holding conference Steam Shovelmen. Lennon, Alpine participating.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

I am just now in receipt of a letter from Mr. W. A. Appleton, secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions of England, and because it is so important I have caused copies to be made and enclose one of them herein. I urge the members of the council to read both of these letters with the greatest care, and to regard them as confidential, at least for the time being.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 1, 1914

Mr. CARL LEGIEN, *President, International Federation of Trade Unions, Berlin SO. 16, Engelshof 15, Berlin, Germany.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your cablegram of August 26th was duly received. I was indeed glad to get direct information from you in regard to the German labor movement, and particularly with reference to the labor members of the Reichstag. The press reports in this country were so conflicting that one scarcely knew what to believe, but the report that the socialist members of the Reichstag had been summarily shot, and other demonstrations, hardly seemed credible.

I scarcely know how to express my sentiments in regard to this terrible, monstrous war that is devastating the whole continent of Europe. I realize of

course that the reports published by the newspapers in the United States are only fragmentary and highly censored and that we have no way of getting accurate information as to what is really transpiring. I can only express the fervent hope, which I am convinced is the earnest hope of the whole American people, that this terrible and bloody war may be speedily ended and peace established.

As there is such delay and difficulty in even first-class mails, after consulting the Post-office Department, I deemed it advisable not to attempt to send the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST or any printed matter of second-class mail, to either Germany or Austria for the present. I should like very much, though, for you to see the September issue, but when the time is propitious to send second-class mail I shall see that copy is sent to you. Please let me hear from you often.

I would particularly like to have information from you as to the probability of the 1915 meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions. I assume that by reason of the war that meeting will not be held. The British Trade Union Congress has been postponed indefinitely.

Again expressing the earnest hope for the speedy ending of the war, and trusting that I may hear from you as frequently as convenient, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

18th September, 1914

Mr. C. LEGIEN, *Berlin S.O. 16, Engelufur 15.*

DEAR LEGIEN: Like you, I profoundly regret the disastrous effect of the war upon our international relationships, and I daily wonder at the ease with which the few dominate and destroy the many. It is not that the many lack intelligence or capacity, but rather that the few possess ambition, arrogance, and the instruments of government. Throughout the crisis I am comforting myself with the assurance that this war, horrible and wasteful as it is and must be, will open the minds of the common people in every land and lead them consciously and unitedly towards a civilization which has for its objective the general well-being and happiness rather than national aggrandizement or notoriety.

There will be difficulties in the way of those who seek to promote truly enlightened policies, and these difficulties will be increased by the excesses of those who make war, and by the mendacities of those who report war with its usual, but often bestial circumstances.

The statements to which you refer, and about which you justly complain, had full currency in the early days of the war, but little is heard of them now. It is now generally understood that the trade unions in Germany are carrying on their work, and that the officials are treated with consideration. I have done my best to make so much clear to our people.

You do not, however, suffer alone in respect of false news. Much that is published for consumption in Germany has no basis in fact. We gather from information published by the Wolfe Bureau that India and Ireland are in revolt, that the British army has been twice annihilated, and that France had, some weeks ago, lost, in addition to killed and wounded, 800,000 prisoners and 12,000 guns. We are also told that the Labour Party had issued a manifesto condemning the war. None of these statements are true, though it is true to say that the independent labour party, with a total membership of about 20,000, has refused to join in the recruiting campaign. The members of the Parliamentary Labour party, however, are all over the country acting as very efficient and successful recruiting agents.

I think it advisable that you should realize the attitude of the British people towards the situation. If you were amongst us you would see for yourself that, while deploring the war, they are convinced that they are not responsible for it. They did not desire it, but they are bound in honor to see it

through. However grotesque the conceit may appear to you, millions of them believe that this war is a war of liberation from the domination of militarism, and that the success of the Allies means beneficent results for the German people as distinguished from that section which follows the teachings of Treitschke and von Bernhardt. The sale and effect of the latter's book is enormous, and his teachings will present a greater obstacle to the resuscitation of international relationships than the war itself.

The publication of the White Papers dealing with the events which immediately preceded the war, particularly the one recently published dealing with the position of Austria and her willingness to settle the Serbian trouble by mediation, has profoundly impressed not only our people, but the people in the United States of America. All deeply regret the frustration of the Austrian willingness by the too precipitate ultimatums to Russia and France.

Affairs here now approximate to the normal. During the first week or two there was some dislocation, but today food is plentiful and prices not much above the average, and the percentage of unemployment is 7.1, or 2.4 below what it was in 1909.

I am happy to say there has been no demonstration against the Germans here unless you consider compulsory registration a demonstration. Some Germans have foolishly brought trouble upon themselves by failing to register, or to reveal the fact that they possessed firearms and other means of offensive action. These foolish ones have had to suffer imprisonment or fines, even though the firearms were obsolete and not very dangerous as opposed to modern weapons. Some Germans were in a state of serious destitution, and these were arrested more as a matter of kindness than as a matter of hostility. Many were of military age, and under the circumstances could not be sent back. No stigma attaches to them, and they will receive both food and shelter. As a matter of fact, they are infinitely better off than are the thousands of Belgian refugees who are seeking the charity and hospitality of London.

You may gather how little personal animosity exists, and how anxious our people are to demonstrate the possession of that culture which expresses itself in kindness and chivalrous courtesy from the fact that the King's train was held up at the beginning of the week to allow German wounded instant access to the military hospital to which they had been sent. The King afterwards visited the wards, and spent some considerable time in friendly chat with these same German wounded. Public opinion here would have been shocked if the King's train had taken precedence of the wounded, or if he had failed to express sympathy with them in their suffering.

We are looking to the end of the war, but we do not expect it yet. We realize the seriousness of the situation and the cost both in human life and material wealth. We shall pay the cost without grumbling if the goal is reached and the power of the military caste is smashed. There is no desire here for territorial aggrandizement or for the disturbance of nationalities, and because of this we hope that it will be possible to resume our joint efforts to secure real liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

LONDON, W. C., 23d September, 1914

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: I am enclosing the pamphlets and articles indicated in your letter of the 5th instant, and I am also trying to obtain copies of the "Academy," containing articles which I wrote on the Insurance Act some time since.

I gave Sullivan every possible facility for acquiring information while he was in London, and he will be able to tell you many things. If you think my experience will be of any value please do not hesitate to write; I shall only be too happy to help you to avoid some of the mistakes we have made, particu-

larly those mistakes which have led us to contravene business principles in our efforts to conciliate sentiment.

I understand that Sullivan will have many things to tell you concerning the war. The whole business is most deplorable, and after you have read *Bernhardi's Book* and the White Papers issued I am certain that your conclusions concerning the responsibility for the war will harmonize with ours here. You will be delighted to learn that there is *little real hostility towards the German*, while at the same time, you will expect to hear that there is the strongest possible antipathy to the *Prussian military caste* and a determination to do everything possible to break this up and leave the better part of German feeling and aspiration to develop itself more naturally.

The bitterness towards the Prussian military system has been intensified by the destruction of Louvain and other Belgian villages, and by the wanton and foolish destruction of the Cathedral at Rheims. In war one must always deduct greatly from the stories concerning outrage and atrocity, but even after very liberal deduction it is obvious that Germany has *carried on this war*, particularly in Belgium, an inoffensive and neutral state, exactly on the *lines advocated by Treitschke and Bernhardi*. They have acted as if the power to slay conferred the right to slay even the non-combatant. The counter-charges made against the Belgians do not appear to be supported by a single shred of evidence. Up to the present the only affidavit in support of these counter-charges appears to be one filed by a person claiming to be a Swiss but who is a German so well known to the Swiss Police that they expelled him from Switzerland just recently. These same Swiss police aver that Counstans was under their observation for some time and could not possibly have been an eye-witness of what he alleges has been perpetrated by Belgians upon the German troops.

It is exceedingly sad that just when we appeared to have brought the international movement on to the plane of practicability all our efforts should have been nullified. It will take some years to restore the situation or *even to convince* large numbers of our people that the *International Secretariat is not a part of the German system of espionage*. Under such circumstances it will be our duty to maintain and develop, as far as possible, the *amicable relationships between the English speaking workers*, to draw closer the cords that bind their organizations together, and to hold ourselves in readiness for the time when the resuscitation of the international movement becomes possible.

You are often in my thought and I wonder many times how best to develop the relationships between the trade union movements of the two countries. Periodical speeches and interchange of delegates does much, but the interlocking of practical relationships will do infinitely more. I know this is difficult but it is not impossible and I sometimes feel that the greatness of the task will appeal to you, and set you on the move. If ever this happens you may count upon the loyal and plenary co-operation of,

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

[WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 30, 1914]

Mr. W. A. APPLETON, Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions, 8 Adelphi Terrace, Adam St., London, England.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I am in receipt of several letters from Mr. Carl Legien, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions. They were forwarded to me in a roundabout way. You may have seen the one Mr. Legien sent me via London, but for tactful reasons in the interest of the movement I only refer to it herein. I am writing him by this mail hoping that it may reach him.

In a letter from him under date of August 25th, he sends me a letter in duplicate and requests that I forward one of them to you. I do so with a great deal of pleasure and you will find it enclosed.

May I call your attention to the editorial in the September issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, entitled "European Cataclysm or Democracy—

which?" and in the October issue I reprinted my Labor Day speech under the caption of "Labor and the War."

With fraternal greetings to you and our fellow friends and trade unionists of England, and hoping to hear from you, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 30, 1914

Mr. CARL LEGIEN, President, International Federation of Trade Unions, Berlin
SO. 16, Engelkufer 15, Berlin, Germany.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your favor of August 27th came duly to hand and contents noted. I have written to Mr. Herman Meyling thanking him for his kindness in performing the duty assigned him. I was in the middle west in several cities performing some official duties, and I know you will be glad to learn that success was achieved in many respects.

As Secretary Morrison has already stated to you in his letter of September 22d, your wireless message was published in the most conspicuous place in the *Weekly News Letter*. I am clipping it from one of the *Weekly News Letters* and enclosing it herein. It was the purpose to give your information the widest possible publicity in America and I should say that the message was copied in many of the newspapers of the country. I trust you may receive these as well as the *News Letters* and the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST which has been and will be sent to you by first-class mail.

May I call your attention to the editorial in the September issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, entitled "European Cataclysm or Democracy—Which?" and in the October issue I reprint my Labor Day speech under the caption of "Labor and the War."

In addition to my expressions of horror at this terrible war with its slaughter of human beings and the setback if not the destruction of all or a large part of the constructive uplift work which has been accomplished for the past quarter of a century, there is a sadness that has come upon all of our people the world over as to what the outcome may be—the awful consequences. I fear to give my mind full rein as to the devastation and the results to not only the people of the nations engaged in the struggle, but even the bystanders who are not engaged in conflict. It is scarcely imaginable the influence which the war has exerted upon the affairs of the people of America, particularly the working people. It is most gratifying to find the American people united in the one thought of endeavoring to strictly maintain an impartial neutrality. There may be, aye, there is, sympathy most pronounced, but the people with their sympathy are holding themselves in leash and hoping for the best. I suppose that even for a message to you as well as to other labor men in other European countries, it would be best to withhold a full expression of judgment entertained by the men in the American organized labor movement.

In addition to the regrets which we must necessarily feel is what seems to be one of the inevitable consequences of the war, that is, that the meeting of the International Secretariat at San Francisco in 1915, will have to be postponed for an indefinite period. You know that for years I have been most anxious that the meeting of the International Secretariat should be held in the United States, and finally succeeded in having the invitation accepted and the decision reached to hold the next meeting in San Francisco in 1915. We were anxious that the representatives of the labor movement of the various countries might come to America and see a convention of the A. F. of L., in operation, and to judge of the work from their own immediate observation. I was anxious that they should see and study on the ground the American labor movement in the various localities that they would visit; that they would see us as we are, and study our industry and our workers and our movement, and all that we have done and are trying to do, also that they would have the opportunity of witnessing the Panama Exposition at San Francisco. And all these hopes which would have done so much for the better understanding of our movement and for the solidification of the knowledge, feeling and sentiment are gone by the board.

Yes, I can understand that even should the war be at an end before 1915, the active men in the labor movement will be required in their own home countries to help build up what has been so ruthlessly set back or set aside in the labor movement. But I do entertain the hope that the war may end at an early date, and that some compensation may come to the great masses of the people for the burdens that have been borne, and the sacrifices that have been made.

May I express the hope that recuperation may soon come after the close of the war, helpful, beneficial recuperation, and with it the reviving growth and extension of the labor movement with its beneficent purposes to the masses of people, and that with it we may soon have determined that the International Congress shall be held and held in the United States of America, at a point which the A. F. of L. may suggest.

I also have your letters of August 27th and 25th. I shall write to Brother Appleton as you request.

In sadness, and yet in hope for the best, I send fraternal greetings to you and our fellow friends and trade unionists of Germany. I am,

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President, A. F. of L.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Chief Office:

Hamilton House, Bidborough Street,

LONDON, W. C., *11th November, 1914*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR GOMPERS: I have been trying for days to reply to your letter of October 12th, and to tell you how I have enjoyed reading your Labour Day utterances. I am making an abstract of those that particularly apply to whole world politics as distinguished from purely American conceptions. I propose publishing this in our December *Federationist*, because I appreciate the real importance of many of the things you say.

You know how difficult it is to get the ordinary trade unionist to read the things that really matter, and you will understand why I wish to concentrate his attention upon those points which have international rather than national significance.

Your letter is full of encouragement. I see that you are not content with the work you have already accomplished and that you are ready to take the lead in any considered effort to repair the breaches which this war has made. At the moment no actual effort is possible, but thought and preparation are necessary now if we are to take full advantage of the reaction against militarism which must follow upon publication of the actual facts concerning this war and the realization of what humanity has lost.

It is difficult to write of the war itself because our stock of fact is very small indeed and in some respects the reticence of the authorities is to be commended. There have been no belated and inaccurate reports of victories that have never been won; there has been no excitement of the populace by stories that were untrue; but, on the other hand, we are conscious of the suppression of news even where the publication could do no possible harm. We know from the changing positions on the map that our soldiers have been doing heroic work, but rarely a line comes through indicating the character of the work or the connection of particular sections of the service with it.

The Germans know far more about the position and operation of our troops than we know ourselves; even the introduction of the Indian troops into actual warfare and their terrific charge with its appalling carnage was not officially reported; the story crept out in bits nearly a fortnight after the action had taken place. We can understand secrecy in connection with the disposition of troops, but none of us can understand the need for keeping back information which is fully possessed by the opposite side. The same criticism applies to the action of the London Scottish. In this case official information was vouchsafed some days after the event had taken place, but much has been left to the

imagination of various correspondents who are more or less in touch with opinions and rumors at the rear of the German or Allied lines.

Here in London everything, except the lighting, is pretty normal. Food prices are very little higher than before the war broke out. Last Saturday night, in order to satisfy myself upon this point I did what Sullivan would have done, wandered round the markets myself and I found that fruit and vegetables were exceedingly cheap; magnificent apples were being sold from a penny to two-pence per pound and you could buy the very best potatoes in the market at four pounds for 2d. The two commodities which seem to have increased in price were bacon and the cheaper forms of meat. Legs of New Zealand and Australian mutton in the quarters through which I walked would, before the war, fetch about 6½d. to 7d. per pound; they are now fetching from 7d. to 8½ per pound.

So far as the temper of the people is concerned there has been some change owing to a dastardly and pernicious campaign by one of the press syndicates. A greater hostility towards Germans has been developed and there has been one or two regrettable incidents particularly in Deptford; two or three shops were raided by a crowd which followed the lead given by this particular section of the press. You will see from our quarterly report and from a copy of the *Federationist* which I am sending you that I have done my best to meet this new position and today even those newspapers which excited foolish folk seem to be a little bit ashamed of themselves.

It has been difficult to combat the bitter hostility to the system of espionage which has penetrated everywhere. One is constantly faced with stories of flashlight signals along the coast and of secret wireless installations. I have no means of ascertaining the truth of many stories which come to hand, but it does appear that the Germans have pretty accurate information concerning our fleet and its movements, and drastic action against spies will meet with general approval.

The reports of the ill-treatment of British prisoners and the bayoneting of British wounded which came to hand through soldiers' letters did arouse bitter feeling even though it was obvious that some of the statements were exaggerated, while others I think must have been untrue. Perhaps the story that created most bitterness was one of Doctor MacNab, a nephew of one of the Scottish Devines who, when one of the British posts was driven in, remained with those who were wounded and was afterwards found dead with the rest of those who had been wounded, all of whom are said to have been bayoneted.

Apart from these incidents, the general temper here is exceedingly cool and quiet. There is no semblance of the excitement which rather discredited our people during the South African war; in fact so very manifest is this coolness that some of the Canadians who are over here have mistaken it for coldness and apathy. There is in fact neither coldness nor apathy; on the contrary, there is an intense national spirit and a quiet belief in a mission of liberation which is really astonishing. Yesterday I had to attend a meeting at the offices of the Trade Union Congress and in my journey to the place was brought into actual contact with the Crown just as the Lord Mayor's procession commenced to pass. The demonstration was largely a military one and the contingents of soldiers who passed were in splendid condition, both men and officers, officers particularly, hard and fit as if trained for long distance racing. I can imagine such a procession passing down Fifth Avenue in New York, or Broad Street in Philadelphia, or Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, and seeing an American crowd go mad with enthusiasm, but yesterday there was scarcely any cheering or any noise and yet I saw men and women whose feelings were so intense that though they articulated no sound, tears were coursing down their faces. You know, Gompers, that such is the type of emotion displayed by a nation which is still capable of doing great things.

Opinions here vary as to the duration of the war. Translating, as far as I am able, the premiums at Lloyds into sporting language, it seems that the odds amongst financiers are eighty to twenty *against* the war terminating in February, even against it terminating before June, 1915, and eighty to twenty *on* a termination before December, 1915.

Whenever and as soon as it terminates *I trust you, whom I always regard as the head and father of the English speaking trade union movement, will initiate steps for the reconstruction of the international side of it.*

I have not heard recently from Legien, and I can well imagine how heart brokenly he surveys the wreckage of so many dear hopes. For the moment, we can do little to help him or to comfort him, but whenever opportunity occurs we must assure and reassure him of our continued trust and regard. To me Legien always typifies a rock jutting out in advance of a coast line. For years the seas that have moved round the "rock" have been comparatively smooth; they are now lashed to inconceivable fury, but I expect it will be there when the storms have abated and that we shall then realize how valuable the "rock" was.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter I have sent to Legien.

With affectionate and kindest regards,

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 7, 1914

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith copy of preambles and resolutions submitted by the undersigned to the recent convention of the A. F. of L., held at Philadelphia, Pa., November 9-21, 1914, which were adopted by the convention. The enclosed is commended to your thoughtful consideration, in the event that a Peace Congress shall be ultimately called. It should be added that copies of the enclosed have already been transmitted to the International Federation of Trade Unions and to the National Trade Union Centers throughout the world.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President, A. F. of L.

Hon. WOODROW WILSON, *President of the United States, The White House, Washington, D. C.*

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON

December 10, 1914

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: I have your letter of December 7th, and thank you for sending me the enclosures. I shall read them with much interest.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.*

A. F. OF L. TO ALL COUNTRIES.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 11, 1914

C. LEGIEN, *President, Federation of Trade Unions of Germany.**

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor met in Philadelphia, Pa., November 9-21, 1914. It was attended by the delegates from nearly every international union, from a large number of central bodies and from directly affiliated local unions. There were 369 delegates, representing over two million organized workers.

At the convention the Executive Council in submitting its report dealt with the subject of "International Peace and War," a copy of which you will find enclosed, marked, "A."†

In view of the terrible conflict now being waged in Europe, as was natural, a number of resolutions were submitted dealing with the subject of the European war. With one of these resolutions introduced by the undersigned, the convention directed by its adoption that copies should be forwarded to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and to the various national trade union centers throughout the world. Copy is enclosed herein marked "B."‡

* Identical letters were sent to all National Trade Union Centers, thirty-five in all.—S. G.

† See 1914 printed proceedings, Philadelphia Convention, A. F. of L.

‡ These resolutions, adopted by the 1914 Philadelphia A. F. of L. Convention, are printed elsewhere in this issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.—S. G.

It is earnestly commended to the thoughtful consideration of the International Federation of Trade Unions and such national centers whose activities have not been wholly interfered with by the terrible war.

Owing to the disturbed condition of the mails, I do not even know that this letter will reach you. In the event that it does, I would indeed be glad to have you write me in regard to the recommendations and suggestions made in the accompanying resolution and which were adopted by and became part of the declarations of the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. You will observe that the resolution as adopted by the convention requires that the official views of the organized labor movements of the various national centers are to be ascertained and their co-operation invited in order to carry into effect the purposes of the resolution, and it is especially with this point in view that your recommendations and suggestions in regard to the resolution are invited.

Trusting that I may hear from you in regard to the above at your early convenience, and expressing the earnest hope for the early re-establishment of peace between the warring nations, and the maintenance of the humanitarian purposes of our great labor movements, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
President, A. F. of L.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

(en route) AMSTERDAM,

Reguliersgracht 80, December 27, 1914

DEAR APPLETON: German trade unionists have written to the trades council at Soest (Westphalia) asking for German literature to be sent to them at the prisoners of War Camp II, Frith Hill, Frimley. It appears that they feel the time hang heavy on them, and they would be very thankful for anything to read. Please let me know whether it is possible at all to send books, magazines, etc., to the prisoners' camps, and, eventually, you would be good enough to forward such literature as I can send on to you from time to time.

This year's Christmas certainly is not an occasion to rejoice, neither here nor in your country. Unfortunately we shall have to submit, hoping that we may soon again be able to speak of "peace on earth."

(With best wishes to you and your co-workers, believe me, dear Appleton,

Fraternally yours,

C. LEGIEN,
President, International Federation of Trade Unions

FROM THE G. F. T. U. TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

LONDON, 31st December, 1914

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR GOMPERS: I am writing to you as the old year closes, and in the hope that the new year, ere it ends, will have offered tangible justification of our faith in the gradual uplifting of humanity. Your communication of the 11th inst. was deeply interesting and we are publishing the conclusions of the Philadelphia Convention in the *Federationist* in the hope that these conclusions may help to influence working-class opinion here.

During the month I have received two communications from Legien, and I am writing him today to assure him of the continuance of our regard. I do not, however, disguise from myself the fact that there will be difficulties. On my own committee there is very little bitterness or anti-German feeling, but in some other trade union quarters I have heard opinions expressed that I have had to combat, and which have shown that the internationalism of those who ex-

pressed them was based upon ephemeral situations and not upon reasoned convictions.

Those who have displayed facile capacity for change will not offer very serious obstacles to the creation and commencement of new effort; they will change again when circumstances are favorable to change. The real difficulty will lie with that larger class which is honestly convinced that Britain had no other course open than the one she took, and who, having lost fathers and brothers and sons in the effort to uphold the sanctity of treaties, will very quietly, but very stubbornly refuse to associate with any movement that has a German base, or which is under German influence.

Please accept for yourself, and convey to the dear friends with whom you are in touch, my very kindest wishes for the New Year. Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

KOBENHAUN, K. DEN, *December 31, 1914*

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

DEAR COMRADES: Your favor of the 10th inst. we received, and it was read to our Executive Council in session today.

We fully comprehend your fraternal feeling and your anxiety about the international relations of organized labor after the war. With you we most earnestly wish that hostilities may be brought to an early close.

However, we want to remind you of the Socialist conference which is going to take place on the 17th and 18th of January in this city where representatives from United States of America, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark will meet and deliberate what may now and in the future be undertaken by the international labor movement. We hope—and expect—that this conference will in a proper way start international relationship afresh and be a means for expression of the wants and views of organized labor. Moreover this conference was originally proposed by the labor movement in these Skandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Regarding all this we dare not as yet bind ourselves to any other prefixed arrangement after the war.

We hope, dear comrades, that you will understand our position and our sincere hope for an early cessation of war and for re-establishment and a mighty invigoration of international labor movement—the only power able to finally remove the menace of war.

Fraternally yours,

CARL F. MADDEN

THE TRADES HALL COUNCIL

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA, *January 29, 1915*

MR. S. GOMPERS, *President, A. F. of L., 801 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.*

DEAR COMRADE: Your letter of the 10th ultimo containing resolutions of the thirty-fourth annual convention of the A. F. of L., held in Philadelphia, Pa., November 9-21, 1914, came to hand safely. May I say in reply that my council whole-heartedly endorses the resolution carried by the convention. The question however of taking part in the convention or congress suggested to be held simultaneously with the general Peace Congress at the termination of the war has been referred to the Grand Federal Labor Council of Australia who will, I have no doubt, deal with same as early as possible.

With best wishes for a speedy termination of the terrible conflict now being waged, I am,

Yours fraternally,

CHAS. GRAY

Secretary

C. G. T. TO A. F. OF L.

PARIS, February 3, 1915

COMRADE GOMPERS: We have received your letter concerning the San Francisco Exposition. Agreeably to your suggestion, we have accepted the invitation which you proffered the French Committee. We have sent to the same committee our exhibit, consisting of three table-diagrams, which will be exposed with various similar works of our country. We hope that the pavilion of social economy shall be the same for all.

You will receive also our circular in response to your proposal to hold an international congress of working class organizations at the end of hostilities. It is not necessary to tell you that we have accepted this invitation. We are sending this reply at the same time to all the national central unions which are in alliance with the international bureau.

With the desire to see the present sad situation rapidly come to an end, and the hope to see peace re-established so that we may pursue our struggle for emancipation, receive, comrade, my fraternal and sympathetic salutations.

L. JOUHAUX

Secretary

TO THE WORKING CLASS INTERNATIONAL
TO THE NATIONAL CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS

PARIS, FRANCE

COMRADES: In spite of the terrible disaster which has arisen in Europe, a disaster which came against its will and its action, the C. G. T. of France desires to affirm once more its unswerving attachment to the cause of international labor.

War remains for it the most abominable of social crimes. No argument is possible to diminish the responsibility of those who have begun it. That is to say, that the C. G. T. remains today as yesterday the partisan of peace between the nations.

Its propaganda and its action have always been contrary to the lower forms of nationalism, to the conquest of militarism, and it is opposed to the return of worn-out regimes.

Its desire would be to lead the entire international in a struggle against wicked force. It has understood that it was indispensable upon this point of creating unity of thought, determining a unity of attitude among the organized proletarians of all countries, in order that when exacted by circumstances it could exercise a unit of action against a common peril.

(Proofs): "Proposition at the international conference, Amsterdam, 1905; intervention of the C. G. T. by its secretary before the German unions, 1905; proposition at the international conference, Paris, 1909; delegation of the C. G. T. in Germany, 1910; intervention before Legien at Brussels, July, 1914."

It was in part for not having recognized the value of this point of view that the working-class international was impotent in opposing the war.

For six months we have suffered from this war, and all the horror of invasion. We have seen the neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium violated, the departments of the north and east of our country invaded, and the scenes of carnage through which we have lived have only served to verify our point of view with respect to the attitude which the international proletariat ought to observe as against the war.

Meantime, however ardent we may be in desiring to establish peace between the nations today belligerent, we can not forget that Belgian territory is almost entirely occupied and that our departments of the north and of the east are in the same situation. On the other hand, the conditions essential to social progress are the inviolability and the independence of the nations.

We have too often protested against colonial expeditions to forget today the profound reasons for our protestations.

Humanity can develop toward a civilization always more elevated, she can create the social relations more suitable to human rights only in so far as brutal force shall disappear, and as a means of serving in the transformation and an auxiliary of intelligence put at the service of labor.

The United States of the world, a form of human organization which we ought to attempt to realize, shall only be possible the day when each nationality, however feeble it is, shall have the assurance of being respected in its own proper development, shall have the collaboration of all nations, and shall thus be rendered possible.

That day shall re-establish the true regime of international liberty resulting from the normal play, and without constraint, of the liberty of all the nations. In that constitution, militarism being without any object, shall eliminate itself. This conception of the future which is ours, in spite of the terrible times in which we now live, we are in the hope of realizing if all the proletariat will bring their part of sincere work to the edification of the common work of liberation.

To adopt this ideal is to banish the idea of hegemony; that is, to wish the harmony between all human beings through the equality of all peoples.

If it is not possible in present circumstances for the French C. G. T. to formulate the conditions of peace, which it believes to be the nearest possible, it is, however, permissible to it to indicate that the pacific effort to be employed practically ought to be in the direction of the goal which shall make this war the last of wars.

With those who accomplish this work, the C. G. T. is one. Again at this terrible moment it demands that the working classes of all countries associated with it to affirm and to maintain formally action to penetrate the thought of the workers of the entire world, under the form of the United States of America peace shall be definitive and assured with the day when all the working classes of all the nations shall have acquired within their organizations a profound moral conscience of their reciprocal duties, and by that a power of action veritably capable to hinder all war by the direct opposition of the organized forces acting in the working-class international.

The C. G. T. approves and accepts the proposition of the A. F. of L. to hold "at the same time and place as the general peace conference which shall be held without doubt at the end of the war, of a congress of the representatives of the working-class organizations of the different nations," "in order to aid in the establishment of fraternal relations, to protect the interests of the workers and everywhere to aid to form the foundations of a durable peace." On the order of (1) suppression of the regime of secret treaties; (2) of the absolute respect of nationality; (3) of the immediate and international limitation of armaments, a measure which ought to assist in their total suppression; (4) the application of obligatory arbitration in the case of conflicts between nations.

Vive the international, always and everywhere!

By order of the committee:

The Secretary,
L. JOUHAUX

LONDON, W. C., February 16, 1915.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Washington, D. C.*

DEAR GOMPERS: You will see from the enclosed cutting, which is taken from the *Daily Chronicle* of February 15, that a conference of representatives of the Socialist and Labour parties of the allied nations was held in London on the 14th. Neither the General Federation of Trade Unions nor the Confederation du Travail were in any sense responsible for convening the conference,

nor can they be held responsible for any opinions expressed. The Confederation du Travail and representatives of the co-operative movement of France were invited, but not the General Federation of Trade Unions nor the organized co-operators of Britain. When the Confederation du Travail realized the circumstances under which the conference had been convened they were adverse to attending, but agreed to do so rather than give opportunity for public controversy.

The delegates from the confederation were instructed to confer during their stay in London with the general federation concerning the future of the International Secretariat. Yesterday afternoon (the 15th) long and serious discussion took place. There was no sign of personal animosity towards the German people, but all present agreed that racial bitterness had been engendered, and would affect, amongst many other things, the position and usefulness of the international trade union movement. It was obvious to all that years must pass before British and Belgian and French could proceed to Berlin with the freedom and confidence which existed prior to the outbreak of the war. Some new arrangement was therefore necessary if the international movement was to avoid disintegration and disaster.

All thought that the International Secretariat should, at least for a time, have its chief office in a country whose neutrality was guaranteed not only by treaty, but by physiological circumstances. America would have afforded an ideal solution, but for her distance from other centers. Outside America, Switzerland appeared to be the country best suited to the requirements of the Secretariat, and though the French preferred Geneva, they waived the consideration of this city when it was pointed out that its Latin sympathies might make it objectionable to Germany. Ultimately it was agreed to epitomize and place before you the suggestion made, and to ask you to assume the responsibility of forwarding them to Legien. All present felt that he would appreciate the situation. The representatives thought that the chief office of the Secretariat should be removed to a neutral country, preferably Switzerland; that the personnel of the Secretariat should be neutral and resident in Berne.

We fully appreciate the gravity of these suggestions, just as we appreciate the gravity of the situation and the desirability of avoiding any form of international trade union catastrophe.

There is not the slightest personal feeling against Legien, and it is understood that the arrangement suggested may be only temporary.

Either Jouhaux or myself might have communicated with affiliated countries, but it seemed wiser to transmit our thoughts through non-belligerents, and we know of no one who would so seriously consider what is suggested, or who would more conscientiously act in the interests of international trade unionism than Samuel Gompers.

We send you the expression of our deepest regard, and we know that you will try to understand our perplexities and difficulties, and our anxiety to maintain, irrespective of personalities, the solidarity of our movement.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON
L. JOUHAUX

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 26, 1915

MR. L. JOUHAUX, *Secretary, Confederation Generale du Travail, 33 Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris, France.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your favor of February 3 was duly received and also copy of the circular letter you sent to the National Trade Union Centers. I am indeed glad to note that the French Trade Union Center will co-operate with the A. F. of L. in the proposition adopted by the last annual convention relative to the peace conference at the close of the present terrible European

war. Thus far I have not heard from any other trade union center as to the proposal made by the A. F. of L. I am sending copy of your communication to my colleagues of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

I am exceedingly gratified to know that the French Trade Union Center has prepared an exhibit for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition which has just opened in San Francisco. I shall be greatly interested in seeing your exhibit. I am now completing the exhibit of the A. F. of L., and hope to ship it to San Francisco in the course of a few days. I shall be glad to send you copy of our official catalogue as soon as it is completed.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you often, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 4, 1915

MR. W. A. APPLETON, *Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter of February 16, signed jointly by you and Mr. L. Jouhaux, secretary of the French trade unions, has been duly received and contents noted. For some time before I received your letter I had been giving very careful consideration to the matter of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the probability of our ability to maintain the movement despite the terrible conflict in which the various European nations are now involved.

The plan suggested by you and Mr. Jouhaux for the temporary conduct of the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions, its location and personnel, appeals to me as being eminently practicable and in the best interests of the international trade union movement. Of course, the fortunate position in which the American people, as well as the American labour movement finds itself in the present terrific situation, might afford the opportunity for all to concede that the American Trade Union Center would be the best possible means of the future conduct of our international labour movement, even though that may be temporary. You know as well as I do that the peoples of the various countries of nearly all Europe look upon each other with a suspicious side glance, if nothing more. There is nothing in all America, and particularly in the organized labour movement of our continent, which even smacks of suspicion. We should be very glad to serve the best interests of the workers and of the people generally of all the civilized world, including the contending nations in this great titanic struggle, but if, as you and Brother Jouhaux think, it were best to have the administrative affairs of the international trade union movement, even though temporarily, vested in Switzerland, I am sure we shall have no objection to interpose.

I have just written to President Legien, and have placed the matter before him, requesting his most careful consideration of the suggested plan for the offices of the International Federation of Trade Unions to be transferred to Berne, Switzerland, and that the personnel of the federation should be neutral. I have not heard from Mr. Legien for several months. It is possible that the letter I have just written him may never reach him. However, I am hoping for the best, that is, that my communication will finally reach his hands, and that he may find a way to communicate to me in regard thereto. You may rest assured that as soon as I hear from him you will be promptly advised.

I am not writing to Mr. Jouhaux, as I am in doubt as to whether he is now in Paris or in London, but I count upon your advising him of this letter to you.

I thank you for the clippings you enclosed, and hope to hear from you further at your early convenience. Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4, 1915

MR. CARL LEGIEN, *President, International Federation of Trade Unions, SO. 16, Engelhofer 15, Berlin, Germany.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: It has been quite some time since I have received any communication from you. In view of existing conditions, I apprehend that there may be some considerable doubt as to this letter reaching you. However, there is an important matter which it has become necessary I should bring to your attention.

On February 15, as you are probably aware, a conference was held in London of the representatives of the Socialist and Labour parties of the allied nations. Neither the English nor the French Federation of Trade Unions was in any way responsible for the conference. However, the delegates to the conference were instructed to and did hold a conference with the officers of the General Federation of Trade Unions concerning the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions. A long and serious discussion occurred.

The information was given me that while there was no indication of any personal animosity towards the German people, yet all those who participated in the conference agreed that by reason of the racial bitterness engendered from the war, the position and usefulness of the international trade union movement would be much affected; that it was obvious to all that years must elapse before the British, Belgian, and French trade unionists could proceed to Berlin with the freedom and confidence which existed prior to the outbreak of war, and that, therefore, some new arrangement is necessary if the international movement is to avoid disintegration and disaster.

The opinion was then expressed that the chief office of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be, at least for the present, located in a country whose neutrality is guaranteed not only by treaty, but by physiographical circumstances. All agreed in the opinion that America would afford an ideal solution of the question, but for the great distance from other trade union centers. The next suggestion was that Switzerland would be best suited to the requirements expressed by the persons in the conference that the chief office of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be removed to a neutral country, preferably Switzerland, and that the personnel of the International Federation of Trade Unions should also be neutral, and resident in Berne.

I have given this entire subject-matter my most careful thought and consideration. I fully appreciate the gravity of the above suggestion, the gravity of the entire situation, and I desire above everything to avoid any form of international trade union misunderstanding.

The views expressed above are substantially those addressed to me in a joint letter signed by Messrs. W. A. Appleton, of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and L. Jouhaux, of the French Federation of Labour. Without in any way expressing my own judgment in the matters of dispute at this time, but the suggestions as I have substantially quoted them are made as I have given them to you, for the temporary conduct of the business of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and appeal to me as being practical and in the best interests of the continuity and usefulness of the international trade union movement. No one of us can disregard the situation as it exists, deplorable as it is, and I take it that Mr. Appleton and Mr. Jouhaux are as keenly interested as the American Trade Union Center in maintaining and perpetuating the fraternal international Labour movement, and to tide over the present unfortunate situation so that our work for the common good may be continued to the ultimate purposes for which our great movement has been inaugurated.

The entire subject is commended to you for your most careful thought and consideration, and I ask you that you let me hear from you in regard to the matter at your earliest convenience.

Fraternally yours,

SAML. GOMPERS
President, American Federation of Labor

March 28, 1915

DEAR APPLETON: I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of January, and glad to hear of your intentions to somewhat relieve the sad lot of the prisoners of war. For intellectual workers especially it must be very hard to remain without books, and I sincerely hope your efforts will be successful.

For some time I have had the intention to see a prisoners' camp myself. Unexpectedly, however, the work at our offices has accumulated during the war in such a way that I hardly find an hour or two for work not directly connected with the office. After reading your letter, however, I resolved to find the necessary time at once. On the 19th of March I spent several hours at the Doberitz prisoners' camp. I did not take my information from supervising officers, but from the prisoners themselves without any of the former listening to our talk. I am bound to say that I found everything as described in a report which I enclose, although this report deals with the Parchim camp. The report was published in the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Volkszeitung*, the local party daily of the constituency which I represent in the Reichstag, viz., Kiel.

It must be taken into consideration, of course, that all arrangements are made for a camp of prisoners, that great numbers of men are assembled there, and that it is extremely difficult to attend to the individual wishes of every one. An English prisoner, for instance, to whom I talked complained that he had not seen any meat. This is not to be wondered at. Every prisoner is allowed ninety grammes of meat per day, but this meat is added in various forms to the general food they receive without any nutritive value being lost to the individual prisoner. A Frenchman, who had stayed there since the 22d of August, told me that he could not stand the German soldiers' food, especially their heavy bread. I fully understood his complaint, for the cooking methods of his native town—Paris—are indeed very different from those obtaining here. The same is true as regards bread. Prisoners receive 300 grammes of bread per day (six-ninths of one pound), as against 250 grammes allowed per head of the civilian population of our country.

All such complaints are easy to understand, but I feel it will be impossible to attend to all individual desires of the 800,000 war prisoners we have in the country now. As regards food, they, too, will have to submit to what has been found necessary under existing conditions for the whole of Germany. In any case, the prisoners are by no means worse off than our civilian population.

At the post-office of the camp I spent quite a while. I was really astonished to see the tremendous number of parcels—containing all sorts of food and delicacies—that had arrived for the Britishers. It made me feel sorry for the Russian prisoners. It appears to be very rare that one of them receives a similar valuable set of greetings from home. Everything eatable, of course, is handed to the prisoners, although all parcels are opened. The prisoners themselves put them together again if no arms have been found. I saw about fifty parcels being opened and searched, and only in one case was there some delay, as an unusually long knife had been found among its contents. The prisoners are not permitted to get daily papers from home, while magazines and books are permitted after having passed the censors' office. Here I was told that very rarely anything was withheld for political reasons.

Considering the mass of people living within the camp, I must say that dwellings, lavatories, baths, heating and lighting were quite up to reasonable expectations. I have seen many lodgings of proletarians, and I have often dwelled in lodgings myself that were far worse than those I saw at Doberitz, although this was one of the first camps. Friends who visited other camps tell me that they are better equipped and have more up-to-date arrangements.

During the debates in the Reichstag Committee on the Budget, and in the same Committee of the Prussian Landtag, it was demanded not only by the

members of our party, but even by those of all other parties, that war prisoners should be well treated. This was demanded for humanitarian reasons, and, further, because it was recognized by all that our own soldiers, when captured by the other side, would have to suffer for any harsh treatment meted out to our war prisoners here.

I merely intended to send the enclosed cutting, but my remarks have developed into quite a long letter. I am convinced, however, that you will take my description just as it is given, a description of what I saw and felt at the camp.

I have read with interest the letter you wrote to Brother Gompers. Let me say that I quite share your views, which are expressed even more distinctly in the *Federationist* for March (page 5). I am fully convinced that there will be little difficulty to re-establish and even strengthen the trade union bonds again within a very brief space of time as soon as the war is over. For are we not all depending on each other if we desire to attain our ends. I sincerely hope, therefore, that we may soon be able again to continue our old work.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience,

I am yours, very sincerely,

C. LEGIEN

MILAN, ITALY, April 2, 1915

MR. S. GOMPERS, *President of the A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I heard that the American Federation of Labor proposed to hold a meeting of all the national organizations the same day and in the same city where the meeting of the delegates of powers will meet in order to negotiate the next peace at the end of the war.

I do not understand how the proposal did not reach us.

I would be obliged to you if you would be so kind to send me as soon as possible, the exact text of this proposal so that we may discuss it and let you know our view on this matter. I received the other letter which you sent us about the war, but it is impossible for us to find the last one. Perhaps it was lost in the mail.

Receive, dear sir, my thanks, and my hearty and cordial salutations.

RINALDO RIGOLA

The Secretary

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS

C. LEGIEN, *Berlin SO. 16, Engelstr. 15*

BERLIN, April 2, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR GOMPERS: When I wrote my last card on New Year's Eve I promised to write more fully as soon as possible. Hitherto, however, I have not been able to fulfill my promise, not because I had nothing to tell you, but rather because I am so overburdened with work that everything remains undone which is not absolutely necessary.

Quite recently I read in American papers that you escaped a great danger on February 3, when you stayed at the Chicago Kaiserhof which went up in fire. It is for this reason that I am writing today to tell you how glad I felt when I read the story of your lucky escape. I take it as a good sign showing that your life will be spared many years yet for our great labor movement. I sincerely hope that we may once more be able to meet at that very Kaiserhof pursuing our common work.

Unfortunately, there is very little chance for such a meeting now. Who would have dreamed of such duration of this war or of its methods as practised

between Great Britain and Germany today. We need not discuss whoever is responsible for these methods of warfare. By the way, my views on the matter would, of course, scarcely be without bias. The British government appears to try a starvation policy on the German people, but our submarine warfare against British commercial ships is a similar method. From our point of view we believe the one as dreadful as the other.

The object Great Britain had in view can not be achieved, however; at the very moment when the war commenced the possibility of our foodstuffs being insufficient had been taken into account. Every man and woman with some social feelings felt the necessity of safeguarding our women and children against hunger and privation. This is why the trade unions did not hesitate for one moment to do their share in this direction. The general organization is in such working order today that the danger of famine is banished once and for all. Our education along the lines of organization has shown its full value during these days. I sincerely hope that the lessons learned now will not be forgotten after the war is over. It is quite possible that our capitalistic society as well as our constitutionalistic and absolutistic state take the lesson to heart. In this case, some progress on the social field would at least be one satisfactory outcome of the terrible calamity which has befallen the nations of Europe. Of course, all this would by no means be a compensation for the tremendous sacrifices this war demands from man and property.

I need not describe to you our feelings in reading the daily war bulletins or what our imagination shows us of modern warfare with modern weapons. It all is a fearful picture, although we in the middle of the country do not witness any of these things ourselves. If it was not for the great number of active soldiers and of wounded in our streets, none of us would imagine what terrible tragedy is being played near the frontier, for our daily life appears so absolutely normal.

Many of us, and I among them, believed that the economic life of the country and consequently our unions would break down immediately after the outbreak of war. After a few critical weeks, however, our unions have fully recovered, as you have certainly noticed from my reports in the *Correspondenzblatt* (I hope the paper reaches you regularly). I am not too optimistic, however, as to the value of the present state of trade here. It is often said and rightly, too, "war nourishes war." This is true today as much as during the Thirty Years' war. There is little doubt that as soon as millions of German workers return home to their work of peace, production will undergo a serious crisis and that many new difficulties will arise for our unions. We are already today preparing for that period, doing everything possible to keep our trade union and political organization in perfect order.

We have indeed been able to maintain our unions in our own country and I sincerely trust that we will equally succeed to bring about our international organization as soon as the war is terminated. I even hope that our international relations will become better and stronger than ever. I am not as pessimistic as Brother Appleton appeared to be when he wrote his letter of November 11, 1914, to you, a copy of which he was good enough to send to my address. I maintain our old relations, as far as possible, with all national centers, ably assisted in this direction by Brother Oudegeest with whom I confer whenever anything of importance is at stake. I hope to meet him again tomorrow and hand this letter to him. In this way, I think it will reach you safely and without undue loss of time.

Contrary to what I expected Sweden and Holland have sent their usual contribution to the I. F. T. U., and the German center has also paid the usual quota. I believe this to be one of the best signs for the future of our international organization. The International Federation of Trade Unions will not be able to offer much in exchange for these contributions at the present moment,

but I feel sure that this will be recovered soon after the war. The international feeling of solidarity of the workers has not been lost during this terrible crisis, as is shown by the action of these three centers.

The same ideas, by the way, are expressed in your peace resolution passed at the Philadelphia Convention of the A. F. of L. Let me thank you and your friends heartily for this demonstration of international solidarity. I have my doubts, however, whether it will be actually possible to hold a labor convention during the peace negotiations of the belligerent countries, because the state of war in these countries will not be withdrawn in time.

Our direct influence on these negotiations, moreover, will probably carry no weight. Indeed, we all have permitted ourselves to be deceived as to the actual power of our labor organizations. We shall have to develop this power and make it sufficiently strong to avert a similar conflict in the future, as soon as our common work is started again at the end of this war.

These, briefly, are my ideas as to the next future. It would be better, however, if I were in a position to tell you of the end of the terrible slaughter and of the beginning of new international efforts on behalf of our common cause.

Please find enclosed, somewhat belated, a receipt for the contribution paid by the A. F. of L. for our fiscal year 1913-14.

With best wishes and fraternal greetings to you and all our mutual friends, also to Mrs. and Miss Gompers, believe me to be,

Yours sincerely,

C. LEGIEN
President, I. F. of T. U.

NEDERLANDSCH VERBOND VAN VAKVEREENIGINGEN

AMSTERDAM, April 3, 1915

MR. W. A. APPLETON, *Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C.*

DEAR MR. APPLETON: We received a letter from Comrade Oscar Beck, which surprises us somewhat, as in this letter the desire was expressed that closer relation should be established between London and Amsterdam.

You will readily understand that we, too, do not like anything better than this. Especially in these terrible times we on our part do everything in our power to keep up the international relations as well as we possibly can.

We, therefore, were very glad that our president was requested by the International Bureau of Berlin to see to the exchange of the correspondence, etc., between the countries now at war, and besides that the Executive Council of the I. T. F. took similar measures and established a temporary Bureau at Amsterdam under management of our president.

Consequently it will be clear to you that we, not less than you, wish to maintain the good relations which have existed until now, and to strengthen same. But communication between our country and yours seems to be very difficult. Until now we have only received a few letters from you, which had to be sent to our mutual friend Legien, amongst others a copy of your letter to Sam Gompers, in which you expressed yourself so appreciatingly about the president of our International Bureau. Your letter concerning the Relief Fund from the Belgium comrades also reached us.

Mr. Oscar Beck now informs us that he wrote to us previously, but about this letter nothing is known to us.

Till now our Dutch movement has not been much affected by the crisis. We lost a few thousand members, but this is of no great importance. There is, however, a great number of unemployed here, but this decreases gradually. On the other hand, we have succeeded in extending the unemployment insurance considerably, and to further influence the relief movement on behalf of the unorganized and the families of those called out for active service with the army

in the good direction. You will see by this that we give matters every attention, and expect to see a considerable growth of our movement after the crisis is over. At the present moment we are busily engaged in creating a strong agitation for reduction of prices of victuals, which we hope will also meet with good success.

We shall be very pleased to hear soon something from you. We notice from the papers that there seems to be some trouble amongst certain groups, especially amongst dockers and railwaymen. Is this really of a serious nature?

Awaiting your early reply, we remain, with fraternal greeting and best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

J. OUDEGEEST

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

BERLIN, April 12, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor, 801-809 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I am very much surprised to hear of the proposition emanating from the conference of representatives of some trade union centers which was held in London in February last, to the effect that the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be removed to Switzerland.

The *Zentralorgan*, of the German Social Democratic party; the *Vowarts*, in Berlin, and a few provincial papers of the same quality, as well as the official paper of the Social Democratic party in Switzerland, the *Berner Tagwacht*, have indeed made an effort—which was bound to be in vain, of course—to discover that the means at the disposal of the International Federation of Trade Unions were wrongly used in the interest of Germany alone. Those taking part in London conference, however, should not have permitted themselves to be led astray by these endeavors.

On November 23, 1914, I wrote a circular letter to all national bodies affiliated to the I. F. of T. U., saying that during the time of war there could be no question of any activity on the part of the International Federation of Trade Unions, but of merely of maintaining the existing relations. The only action undertaken by the I. F. of T. U. during this period—a financial appeal on behalf of Belgian Trade Unions—had not only my full endorsement, but also the direct co-operation of the German General-kommission der Gewerkschaften, while it was issued by the Dutch National Center. It is not because of the headquarters of the I. F. of T. U. not being located in a so-called neutral country that the Belgian Trade Unions believe they must not accept any help from the unions of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Our future co-operation will not depend on whether the headquarters of the I. F. of T. U. are located here or elsewhere, but rather on the amount of confidence the trade union centers and those put at the head of the former have towards each other. The International Federation will never acquire any power of action if this confidence should be lacking.

During the time of war I have remained in touch, although with long intervals, with all national bodies affiliated, and it therefore appears to me that the decision arrived at by the London conference expresses a want of confidence. This would knock the bottom out of the I. F. of T. U.

As far as I can judge from the contents of your letter of March 4, 1915, the decision arrived at by the London conference is not to be considered as a motion which should be submitted to the vote of the affiliated national bodies. In case it is to be taken as such a motion, it would become necessary for the national centers not represented by the London conference to discuss the matter

in a conference of their own, after the motion is presented as the result of an oral discussion of representatives of some national bodies.

I trust this will not be necessary. It would not be a good start for our future co-operation which, after the present war, will need much more energy, solidarity, and especially more confidence towards one another than used to be necessary before the war.

Will you kindly let me know whether the London conference resulted in a regular motion being moved, which would have to be submitted to the national centers for their decision. In this case I, of course, shall at once attend to my duty as President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

With best wishes, believe me to be,

Yours fraternally,

C. LEGIEN

President, International Federation of Trade Unions

[NOTE: From the following letter from Mr. Jouhaux, it is quite evident that my letter suffered in translation from English into French, for I at no time suggested that the seat of office of the International Federation of Trade Unions be located in the United States, or that I should act as its executive officer.—S. G.]

PARIS, April 13, 1915

TO COMRADE GOMPERS, *President of the A. F. of L., Washington, D. C.*

In thanking you for your parcel and your answer about the removal of the seat of the international union office, the committee expresses this opinion. Although deeply moved by our offer to accept temporarily the international office, America representing all the guarantees of impartiality and security, it can not, considering that there is too large a distance between America and the majority of the national centers, accept your generous proposal.

It upholds its decision concerning Berne, the work of the international office being assured by neutral elements.

The committee thanks you once more for your internationalist feelings, those feelings must stay entire above the present conflict.

Having heard by newspapers, that American workmen associations, had met in order to discuss about the contingency of holding an international meeting in view to hasten peace; that the decision taken by those organizations would become definitive, only after being submitted to you, the committee asks you to be so kind and inform it about the authenticity and official value to be given to these newspaper news. You will understand the main reasons which induce us to ask you for these informations, and we hope you will be able to give us precise explanations about those facts.

Hoping to hear from you soon, receive, comrade, for you and the members of your committee our fraternal salutations,

The Secretary,
JOUHAUX

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS

BERLIN, April 13, 1915

To the Affiliated National Trade Union Centers.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: You will find enclosed several documents relating to a proposal to transfer the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions to some neutral country, viz., copies of a joint letter written by Brothers Appleton and Jouhaux to Brother Gompers, of Mr. Gompers' reply and of his letter advising me, further copy of a letter I intended to address to President Gompers before I knew of this correspondence having been published in the

Federationist, and copy of the official reply I have today forwarded to President Gompers.

I do not think it advisable to have a vote taken by letter on the proposition that has been made. The decision to be arrived at will no doubt have a great influence on the future position of the International Federation of Trade Unions. For this reason I consider it absolutely necessary to have the whole question discussed in a conference.

Brother Oudegeest is about to issue a call to this effect to all affiliated national centers, and I trust you will accept his invitation to meet in conference.

It need scarcely be pointed out to the officers of the affiliated National Centers that in view of the conditions under which the conference is to meet, this publication should not be made public.

Yours fraternally,

C. LEGIEN

President, International Federation of Trade Unions

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

BERLIN, April 16, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor, 801-809 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR BROTHER GOMPERS: I had just written a lengthy reply to your letter of March 4, in which I explained my doubts as to the wisdom of removing the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions to some so-called neutral country. Simultaneously I received the April number of the *Federationist*, the official journal of the British Federation of Trade Unions, containing the full text of the letter Brothers Appleton and Jouhaux wrote to you and of your reply thereto.

I take it for granted, of course, that the other national centers also get the *Federationist* regularly, as well as I do myself. The whole question has, after these letters are made public, lost its personally friendly character which you gave it in your letter of the 4th of March.

The letter which was to be sent to you on the 11th of April mainly contained my personal views on the matter, but now I feel compelled to first consult my friends. This, of course, will take some time, but you will hear from me on the matter as soon as possible. Your communication of the 23d of March relating to the three copies of the official catalogue of the A. F. of L. exhibit, etc.

With very best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

C. LEGIEN

President, International Federation of Trade Unions

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, W. C.,

21st April, 1915

MR. C. LEGIEN, *c. o. Oudegeest, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.*

DEAR LEGIEN: I am in receipt of your letter and your account of your efforts to investigate and improve the situation of British prisoners of war. We are all very grateful.

Both myself and O'Grady are interesting ourselves in the conditions under which German prisoners are confined. Speaking generally, we are certain that these conditions are much superior to the conditions under which our own people are interned in Germany. Particularly is this the case in respect to officers; there is, in fact, some outcry against the luxury permitted them. This outcry has

been accentuated in the case of the officers since the two in Wales broke their parole and did not return from the golf match. They have since been recaptured, but apparently did not realize the seriousness of their offence against honor.

Any efforts will be rendered more difficult by the methods of warfare adopted. The torpedoing and sinking of the *Falaba*, the drowning of unwarned, unarmed, undefended, and helpless non-combatants, and the useless and senseless firing upon would-be rescuers is begetting a hardness of heart that certainly did not exist previously. In addition to this, there is in circulation amongst the medical profession a number of photographs alleged, upon what is regarded as unimpeachable authority, to have been taken on the actual battlefields in Belgium. These photographs are of Britishers who, having fallen wounded, were brutally mutilated. Amongst the cases there are pictures of disembowelled men, and men whose faces have been hacked and whose brains have been smashed out.

Honestly I don't want to believe all these bestial stories; but the fact that they are told, and the source from which they come, make our position very difficult indeed. You will understand how readily the general public believe these after reading the stupid utterances of some of the German papers, and after hearing with what gusto the "Hymn of Hate" has been sung and advertised.

You may rest assured that we will do our best, quite uninfluenced by current stories. We should continue to do our best even if we had irrefutable evidence of the truth of all these statements, because we believe and seek to teach that even in war it is incumbent upon our people to play the game, and to set up a standard of conduct which will increase rather than diminish, both now and in the future, their personal self-respect.

Today the stories I have heard fill me with sadness, because I can not hope that we shall, much longer, be able to keep out of our people's minds the idea of vengeance which attempts to find expression in reprisals. Hitherto our people have been inclined to meet "Gott strafe England" with a quiet "God forgive Germany," but this spirit is jeopardized by recent events.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, W. C.,

22d April, 1915

MR. J. OUDEGEEST, *Reguliersgracht, 80, Amsterdam.*

DEAR OUDEGEEST: I was very pleased indeed to hear from you, and shall endeavour to be in touch with you.

The war has altered many things, and I am afraid it is going to alter and affect rather seriously the international trade union movement. We have tried very hard to prevent bitterness arising, but the methods of warfare adopted will, I am afraid, make this impossible. The stories that are coming to hand will make our people as bitter as the Belgians and the French, who have had personal sight and knowledge of the devastation and outrage that has taken place.

On the 15th February we had a conference in London between the representatives of the Confederation Generale du Travail and our organization. This conference arose out of another by a section of the Socialist party, and which did not end very happily. At our own conference we discussed the future of the international movement, and came to the conclusion that for many years it would be impossible for French or British or Belgians to visit Germany with the same freedom and pleasure as they had visited Germany in the past, and it was decided to take steps to secure the transference of the Secretariat to a neutral country. A letter was written, which was signed by Jouhaux and myself, and sent on to Gompers, who forwarded same to Legien. I have since re-

ceived a letter from Legien, and am quite sure that he understands the situation, and think he will not stand in the way of anything that can be done for the real advantage of the international movement.

The Confederation Generale du Travail has asked me to prepare a circular letter to all the nations, and I intend doing this, but the subject is so profoundly important that I have, up to the present, hesitated to commit my thoughts to paper. I feel the burden of responsibility in this matter, and am most anxious to act without prejudice or ill-feeling and entirely in the interests of that wider movement to which we belong.

Like you, we have suffered from increased prices. It is one of the inevitable consequences of war. We have to be thankful that so far, while there has been increased prices, there has been increased wages or allowances to meet these advances and that there has been no real suffering. As a matter of fact, the people seem to be better fed and better clothed than they are at normal times, and there is no disquietude as to the ultimate result of the war.

You ask about the trouble amongst the dockers and railwaymen. There has been trouble with a small section of dockers at Birkenhead, near Liverpool, and with some engineers in Scotland, but this has been happily settled, and I believe that the whole of the people are now bending their energies towards securing a successful termination of the war.

It is true that some of the newspapers have made charges of idleness and drunkenness, but these are gross slanders, and there is now a tendency to apologize for the charges preferred against the workers. It will be no new thing to you to have to defend your own people against false and slanderous accusations.

You will be quite aware that when the war broke out we were entirely unprepared for it. We hoped for peace until the very last, and when the war broke out we had to organize an army and provide all its equipment. I am not in a position to tell you how many men have been enrolled or very much about it, but we have good reason for believing that at the present moment there are more than three millions, all of whom have volunteered for service.

We regret the necessity for all this, and would gladly have remained at peace with the world, but we do hope that one result of our struggle will be the liberation of the smaller nationalities from the thralldom of fear and the securing to them for all time of the right to develop and enjoy their national life in their own way.

With kindest regards, yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS
(BERLIN, SO. 16, *Engelstrasse* 15.)

April 23, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor, 801-809 G Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR GOMPERS: I enclose a letter which I intended to forward to you in reply to your communication of March 4, although on the 16th I wrote another letter which is also enclosed. The first letter is added because it may be of interest to you to know my personal view on the matter in dispute.

I do not think it advisable to have a vote taken by letter on the proposition made. The decision to be arrived at will no doubt be of great influence on the future position of the International Federation of Trade Unions. For this reason I consider it absolutely necessary to discuss the whole question in a conference.

Brother Oudegeest is about to issue a call to all affiliated national centers to this effect and I trust you will accept his invitation to meet in conference.

It need scarcely be pointed out that in view of the conditions under which the conference is to meet, this communication should not be made public.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I beg to remain, Yours fraternally,

C. LEGIEN

President, International Federation of Trade Unions

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1915

Mr. RINALDO RIGOLA, *via Manfredo Fanti 2, Milan, Italy.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In addition to the enclosed letter which I have just written you I desire to call your attention to a communication which I received, signed jointly by Mr. W. A. Appleton, for the General Federation of Trade Unions of England, and Mr. L. Jouhaux, for the French Trade Unions, regarding the transfer of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions from Berlin to a neutral country.

On February 15, as you are probably aware, a conference was held in London of the representatives of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the allied nations. Neither the English nor the French Federation of Trade Unions was in any way responsible for the conference. However, the delegates to the conference were instructed to and did hold a conference with the officers of the General Federation of Trade Unions concerning the future of the International Federation of Trade Unions. A long and serious discussion occurred.

The information is given me that while there was no indication of any personal animosity toward the German people, yet all those who participated in the conference agreed that by reason of the racial bitterness engendered from the war, the position and usefulness of the international trade union movement would be much affected; that it was obvious to all that years must elapse before the British, Belgium, and French trade unionists could proceed to Berlin with the freedom and confidence which existed prior to the outbreak of the war and that, therefore, some new arrangement is necessary if the international movement is to avoid disintegration and disaster.

The opinion was then expressed that the chief office of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be, at least for the present, located in a country whose neutrality is guaranteed not only by treaty, but by physiographical circumstances. All agreed in the opinion that America would afford an ideal solution of the question, but for the great distance from other trade union centers. The next suggestion was that Switzerland would be best suited to the requirements of the situation and the belief was finally expressed by the persons in the conference that the chief office of the International Federation of Trade Unions should be removed to a neutral country, preferably Switzerland, and that the personnel of the International Federation of Trade Unions should also be neutral and resident in Berne.

The proposition submitted by Messrs. Jouhaux and Appleton came before the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., at its meeting the week of April 19-24, 1915, and was approved. I have communicated to President Legien and also to Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux. I should be pleased to hear from you in regard thereto.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you at your early convenience,
I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President, A. F. of L.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION
JOHANNESBURG,
15, Trades Hall, Rissik Street

April 28, 1915

SAM'L GOMPERS, Esq., President A. F. of L., U. S. A.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter dated 10th December, 1914, together with copies of "report of E. C. to the Philadelphia Convention," and resolution of that convention "No. 104," were duly received and considered by my executive at its last meeting when, after full discussion, I was instructed to reply and express to your federation our hearty sympathy with both your Executive Council report and resolution No. 104.

Distance and financial disability make it impossible for our South African movement to take any large or active part in the inauguration of international congresses but such efforts as are being made by your federation have our sincere blessing and to the extent of our capacity we are prepared to co-operate with you.

It would be unreasonable for us in the present state of our national development to claim any considerable attention in such instances for our views, and to make suggestions would be almost impertinent. We feel confident that the consensus of labour opinion in Europe and America will reach conclusions with which we can agree.

We further hope that you will keep us informed as to the future steps you may take and thus enable us to play whatever small part we can in influencing a final settlement of the war favourable to the workers of the world.

I remain,

Yours fraternally,

A. CRAWFORD
Secretary

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 29, 1915

Mr. L. JOUHAX, Secretary, Confédération Générale du Travail, 33 Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris, France.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. met at headquarters the week of April 19-24, 1915. I placed before my colleagues the communication signed jointly by you and Mr. Appleton in regard to the transfer of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions from Berlin to a neutral country. The Executive Council approved the proposition and I have so advised President Legien. I should be glad to hear from you further in regard to the matter. Of course, I am also writing an identical letter to Mr. Appleton.

A sub-committee of the Executive Council of which I am a member, under the direction of the Executive Council is preparing a statement to be issued in the name of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., as to the attitude of the A. F. of L. regarding the proposition for a conference of labor representatives to be held in the same city and at the same time when the Peace Congress is held. I shall be glad to send you copy of this statement as soon as it is completed.

With kind regards and hoping to hear from you often, I remain,
Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

NEDERLANDSCH VERBOND VAN VAKVEREENIGINGEN

AMSTERDAM, May 3, 1915

Mr. W. A. APPLETON, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C.

DEAR MR. APPLETON: I duly received your letter of the 22d ult. on Monday last, together with the letter for our friend Legien.

I was very glad to read that the reports with regard to the troubles which

are said to have taken place in your country have been very exaggerated. We, too, have been vexed by the silly and stupid incitement of a certain part of the English press against the working classes, asserting that the laborers do not produce enough on account of their drinking habits. It is with great astonishment that we have read such a charge, but the press of whatever party and of nearly every nation is publishing in these days such a number of silly things and of deliberate lies, and it has done already such a lot of harm that really nothing should surprise us any more.

Everything has undergone an enormous change by the war, and most likely more great changes are to follow.

Therefore I am so glad that a regular correspondence is possible between you and me, and that we shall be able to do our utmost to further the splendid movement to which we belong and which is of such inestimable value for the civilization and the improvement of the position of the working classes, and to maintain as much as possible the unity, nationally and internationally, of the trade union movement of all countries.

Last Monday our friend Legien paid us a visit in Amsterdam and brought us the letters which you will find enclosed. We gave him your letter, which had just come to hand. He will send you his reply from Berlin. Legien intended, with a view to the difficult communication between Germany and the other countries of Europe, to despatch from here a circular stating that the correspondence between you and our friend Gompers has induced him to ask the Dutch Trade Union Center to convoke an international conference in order to discuss the transfer of the seat of the International Bureau.

We are, of course, quite willing to call such a conference together, especially of the representatives of the more important organizations, such as the English and American and the German ones, which certainly are able to judge and oversee the world-wide movement not less well as we wish to hold such a conference. It is obvious that we have noticed the bitterness which has come into existence during this disastrous war between the labourers of the belligerent nations, and we have asked ourselves what will be the consequences for our international movement as soon as the war is over and the International Bureau will be able to resume its usual work? Up till now we did not think it necessary to take special measures such as proposed by you and Jouhaux, because the International Bureau is not in a position to function in a normal way during these times. We were of opinion that immediately after the war, as soon as peace has been concluded, when the sentiments can take its normal course again, and the necessity of the international unity of the working classes will make itself manifest stronger than now, a conference had to be held about the question whether it will be possible to let everything remain as it was before.

It seems that you are of another opinion. As we fear, however, that under the present circumstances an international conference might perhaps not have a very fruitful result if all circumstances and possibilities have not been well considered before its preparation, and as we presume that the representatives of the neutral countries will have to know exactly what will be their position and what they will have to do, we should like to have some more information concerning the opinion you hold with regard to the general position and circumstances of our movement, and whether you think that this conference may be useful also to some other object. It is for this reason that we have asked Legien not to send his circular letter to the National Trade Union Centers, and to wait till a personal conference between you and us has taken place.

This conference might take place, for instance, in Amsterdam; we can then fix, after mutual deliberation, time and place of such conference. You would oblige us by sending us a wire informing us what day you, and if possible Jouhaux also, will be able to come to Amsterdam. If you might think it advisable that Legien also assists at this conference we shall ask him to come over in time.

This whole matter has been amply discussed in a meeting of our Executive Council, which has been called together with all speed, and Legien, too, has at last accepted our proposal. In case you are not willing or not in a position to hold this preliminary conference—which we hope and trust will not be the case—we shall convoke an international conference as soon as possible and at such a time that all National centers will be able to send their representatives.

Awaiting your early reply, I remain, with fraternal greetings,

Yours faithfully,

J. OUDEGEEST

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4, 1915

Mr. W. A. APPLETON, *Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions, 8 Adelphi Terrace, Adam Street, Strand, London, England.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour met at headquarters the week of April 19 to 24, 1915. I placed before my colleagues the communication signed jointly by you and Mr. Jouhaux in regard to the transfer of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions from Berlin to a neutral country. The Executive Council approved the proposition, and I have so advised President Legien. I should be glad to hear from you further in regard to the matter. Of course, I am also writing an identical letter to Mr. Jouhaux.

A sub-committee of the Executive Council, of which I am a member, under the direction of the Executive Council, is preparing a statement to be issued in the name of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor regarding the proposition for a conference of labour representatives, to be held in the same city and at the same time when the Peace Congress is held. I shall be glad to send you copy of this statement as soon as it is completed.

With kind regards, and hoping to hear from you often, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE

BIDBOROUGH STREET, LONDON, W. C., 10th May, 1915

Mr. J. OUDEGEEST, *Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.*

DEAR OUDEGEEST: I am in receipt of your letter, together with the letter issued by Legien on the 23d of April, in which he states that you are about to call a conference of the nations affiliated to the International Secretariat. Legien has not appreciated the difficulty of carrying out his suggestion for a conference in Amsterdam. For him it would mean nothing more than a more or less inconvenient journey; for the delegates of France or Great Britain it would be a much more serious matter. Legien is not in a position to appreciate the bitterness which has been engendered in Great Britain and, I think, in France also, by Germany's utter disregard of The Hague Convention and the usages of civilized warfare. Poisoned wells, poisoned trenches, and the infamous murder of helpless non-combatants have created a new spirit. Hitherto our people have treated war as they treat the higher forms of sport, and they have endeavored to observe those amenities which even war demands from honorable men, but today there is a cry for vengeance. Today the papers are publishing photographs of the little babies who were drowned as a consequence of the attack of the Germans upon the unarmed Lusitania.

Even if any representative was willing to incur the risks it would be

useless to ask our people to agree to a conference. It may be possible in Germany and the Scandinavian countries to do these things, but in Britain and in France there is, in fact, democratic control and to attend any conference at the present moment would be to outrage the feelings of a people who are overwhelmed, not only with horror, but with a determination to punish.

I shall place the communications before my committee, but I feel sure the answer will for the present be *no*.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

CONFÉDÉRATION GÉNÉRALE DU TRAVAIL
33, Rue de la Grange aux Belles, Paris (Xe),

11th May, 1915

MY DEAR APPLETON: I return the circular letter addressed to the National Centers affiliated to the International Secretariat. I have corrected the French and it is now accepted by the confederation and you can issue it. Receive our salutations fraternal.

L. JOUHAUX

CIRCULAR LETTER (IN FRENCH) SENT TO SOCIETIES AFFILIATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

14th May, 1915

COMRADES: The terrible war which is devastating Europe and which is also bringing disturbance and suffering into parts of Asia and Africa has arrested many movements. Among these is the International Trade Union movement, the progress of which has filled internationalists with so much satisfaction and hope. The one thing certain about the war is that it must come to an end; the cost to the nations, both in men and munitions and in the loss of property which the toilers have created and which they will have to replace, must sooner or later compel a cessation of hostilities. When this moment arrives international trade unionism must be rehabilitated.

It is no use attempting to disguise the fact that there will be difficulties; racial animosities and a spirit of vengeance have been aroused, and peoples who have recently been hostilely engaged will not fraternize as freely as they did before the war broke out. The representatives of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Britain and of the Confédération du Travail of France have already discussed the possibility of reconstructing the movement in such a fashion as to minimize antagonism and opposition.

Economic pressure and capitalistic organization will compel the workers to reorganize internationally, but it is hopeless to expect that the representatives of countries now fighting each other can go to Berlin as freely and with as much usefulness as they have gone in the past. Even though the leaders themselves were able to subordinate all feelings except those of devotion to the international movement it is certain that they would not be able to command the general and immediate support of those whom they represent.

Under such circumstances we suggest that the countries affiliated to the International Secretariat shall arrange to transfer the Secretariat to Berne, in Switzerland, and to provide a personnel of neutral origin. The neutrality of Switzerland is guaranteed not merely by treaty, but by its physiographical situation and circumstances, and, for a time at least, it appears to offer the best center for the movement we believe to be essential to the future interests of the proletariat.

We trust that you will see the force of the reasons driving us to take action, and that you will give your adhesion to the suggestions put forth. These have already been placed before Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, himself an ardent internationalist and responsible

leader, and he agrees that for the reasons stated it is better, as far as possible, to neutralize the international trade union movement.

We wish it to be understood that the action suggested implies no reflection upon our present President; in spite of all things he holds our affections, and we are conscious of the efforts and sacrifices he has made on behalf of the trade union movement.

We write you because in the present deplorable circumstances it is impossible to convene conferences, and yet we feel that it would be disastrous to remain inactive.

We shall be glad to hear that you agree with this proposal, and letters addressed to us at the offices of the General Federation of Trade Unions, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, England, will receive immediate attention.

Yours fraternally,

W. A. APPLETON,
*Secretary of the General Federation of Trade
 Unions of Great Britain*
 L. JOUHAUX
*Secretary of the Confédération Générale
 du Travail, France*

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS
 BERLIN, May 26, 1915

THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS.

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: I have today received a circular letter, dated May 14, 1915, and addressed to the National Trade Union Centers by Brothers Appleton and Jouhaux. They ask the various national centers to let the General Federation of Trade Unions know their opinion as to the suggested transfer of the International Federation of Trade Unions' headquarters into a so-called neutral country.

May I ask the national centers, before applying to the above mentioned circular, to carefully examine the various documents relating to the proposition to remove the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which emanates from the national centers of Great Britain and France and which was adopted by them on February 15, 1915.

These documents will be forwarded to you by Brother Oudegeest. I had prepared these on April 26, and I intended to forward them to the various centers on that date during my stay at Amsterdam. Our friends of the Dutch center, however, thought it better not to send them on. They suggested that Brothers Appleton and Jouhaux should first meet me before my circular letter was to be sent on. The Dutch center explained their views in a lengthy letter which I saw before leaving Amsterdam. The documents I intended to forward to all centers were added to this letter to Brother Appleton.

I take it, therefore, that Brother Appleton knew of the reasons raised against the proposition to remove the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions before releasing his circular of May 14, provided he has received the letter of our Dutch friends. It is for the latter reason that I refrain from passing any judgment on Brother Appleton's action at this juncture.

In case Brother Appleton knew of my circular letter of the 26th of April, it would at least be unfair to now arrange for a general vote of all national centers on the proposition without the latter knowing my reasons for opposing the suggested action.

I had no knowledge that Brothers Appleton and Jouhaux intended to take a vote themselves, for otherwise I would certainly have forwarded my circular letter at once. Now, however, I have sent a wire to Brother Oudegeest requesting him to post my letters immediately.

Please permit me to point out that the replies which will be sent to the Gen-

eral Federation of Trade Unions, must be considered equal of a vote on the matter and that, therefore, they will decide on the future international coöperation of the trade union movement.

Yours fraternally,

C. LEGIEN,
*President, International Federation of
Trade Unions*

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

LONDON, May 26, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor.*

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: The time is rapidly approaching for the meeting of the Congress, which, as you are aware, is fixed to be held in Bristol on Monday, the 6th of September next, and five following days.

We shall look forward with considerable pleasure to the presence of the fraternal delegates from the A. F. of L., and upon receipt of the names and addresses of the chosen representatives, I will be happy to place myself in communication with them, and to arrange for their reception and accommodation in Bristol. Doubtless you will be writing me upon the matter in due course.

With kindest regards and best wishes to yourself, family, and colleagues of the Federation Council.

Believe me to remain,

Fraternally yours,

C. W. BOWERMAN,
Secretary

NEDERLANDSCH VERBOND VAN VAKVEREENIGINGEN

AMSTERDAM, May 20, 1915

MR. W. A. APPLETON, *Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C.*

MY DEAR APPLETON: I received your letter of the 10th inst., from which we understand, with great regret, that you are not willing to hold the preliminary discussion which our Executive Committee considered desirable. We regret this very strongly, because we are of opinion that such a conference between you and Comrade Jouhaux and us would serve the interests of our international very much. We are already informed by the press that the feelings of the British people are very much hurt, but up till now we hoped—and your previous letters gave us good reasons for doing so—that the relations in our international would suffer no damage on account of the increased feelings of bitterness.

No other choice is left for us now but to comply with the request of Legien and to send out the documents he gave us already a month ago, by which an international conference is convoked. We sent them yesterday to all national trade union centers affiliated to the international bureau.

We are very sorry indeed that our endeavors to come to one line of conduct with you in the interest of our international trade union movement have failed for the moment.

Believe me, as ever, yours faithfully,

J. OUDEGEEST

NEDERLANDSCH VERBOND VAN VAKVEREENIGINGEN

AMSTERDAM, May 31, 1915

TO THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTERS.

DEAR COMRADES: Enclosed we beg to hand you copies of a correspondence which has been exchanged between us and the secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions in London, with reference to the proposal of our friends Apple-

ton and Jouhaux to transfer the seat of our International Federation of Trade Unions from Berlin to Berne.

You will see from this correspondence, as well as from the documents we sent you last week on behalf of the international bureau, that our friend Legien has been willing to call an international conference together immediately, in order to discuss the transfer proposed, but it was the Executive Committee of the "Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen," who, being of opinion that such a conference without a preliminary discussion might probably not have a very satisfactory result, has persuaded Legien not to convoke an international conference at this juncture and to wait until such a preliminary discussion will have taken place with Appleton and Jouhaux.

As Comrade Appleton's letter to us of the 10th inst. will show you, however, he refuses such a preliminary discussion. We do not have to judge his reasons for this refusal, but even if they are right it remains impossible to take any decision, by which the seat or the activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions might be changed, without an international conference. The decision of the Dublin conference of 1903 is quite clear on this point. It states:

"The international conference of the national secretaries of trade union centers appoints an 'international secretary of the national centers of trade unions,' whose duty it shall be to keep in constant touch with all national centers, etc."

Just the very difficulty to hold an international conference at this juncture has induced the international bureau in November last, already to take measures in order to secure a regular communication between the organizations of the belligerent countries by appointing the president of the national trade union center of the neutral Netherlands as a temporary intermediary for the maintenance of the international relations, as you were informed by Legien in his letter of November 23rd, last.

Several times our English, French and American friends have made use of his good offices and they nor one of the other national trade union centers have shown in any way, that they did not approve the measures taken, and never a complaint has been heard with regard to the activities of the temporary institute.

Although we do not see much good in an international conference at this moment, and we also doubt whether it will be very easy to get in connection with a bureau in Berne, which is surrounded on all sides by belligerent countries, we are quite willing to comply with the desire of Legien and to convoke an international conference, if such conference will be attended. We intend to hold the international conference at Amsterdam in the second half of August or in the beginning of September.

As it will not be easy, having regard to the difficult means of conveyance and communication, to take all necessary measures in time, you will greatly oblige us by informing us at your earliest convenience, whether you will send a delegate to the conference and, if so, who will be your representative, and what proposals you wish to be put on its agenda.

Awaiting your early reply, we remain,

With fraternal greetings,

J. OUDEGEEST,
President

*For the Executive Committee of the "Nederlandsch
Verbond van Vakvereenigingen"*

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

LONDON, 3d June, 1915

MR. J. OUDEGEEST, *Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam.*

DEAR OUDEGEEST: Your letter of the 29th May to hand. I can not believe that Legien has so far misunderstood the facts of the situation or the mentalities of the people involved as to insist upon a conference of the trade union centers

affiliated to the International Secretariat just when passions are at their highest.

It must be obvious that neither the French, Italians, Serbians, nor British on the one side can attend, and the position of America makes it doubtful as to whether they would consent at the moment to send a representative; the whole conference would, therefore, be in the hands of the Germanic and Scandinavian delegates. The findings of such a conference could hardly be accepted with that whole-heartedness which is a necessity if any success is to be achieved.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5, 1915

MR. W. A. APPLETON, *Secretary, General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain.*

MR. L. JOUHAUX, *Secretary, Confédération Générale du Travail of France, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, England.*

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The circular letter jointly issued by you, under date of May 14, 1915, came duly to hand, and I find myself in full accord with every sentiment and view expressed. Better still, I am gratified to repeat what I have already advised you under date of May 4th, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. officially endorsed the position for the neutralization of the office and personnel of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Both on the platform, in meetings, and in the columns of the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, I have dealt as comprehensively as possible on the subject of the terrible conflict now going on in Europe, and the questions which must be determined by the representatives of the organized labor movement of the several countries in order to endeavor to reduce to a minimum the possibility of a recurrence of such titanic contests.

You will recall that I transmitted to you the resolutions adopted by the last convention of the A. F. of L. regarding the subject of international war and peace. It seemed to me that these propositions have not been given the consideration which they deserved. Perhaps in the hurly burly of the struggle, the demands made upon time, have made it impossible to give them the consideration which their importance really demands. I wish I had the opportunity of a conference with both of you, and with such other representatives of Labor, not only of England and France, but of other countries involved in the struggle. Thus far, the United States has maintained a position of absolute and impartial neutrality, and I am in hopes that we may be enabled to be kept out of the war, and if fortune and circumstances so decree that we shall remain out of it, the very fact of the neutrality of the United States, and my own position, would make it possible that I could meet, even though separately, the representatives of Labor of the several countries which might be helpful, but in view of the many duties devolving upon me at present, I do not see how it would be possible for me to make such a trip at this time, or in the very near future.

At any rate, I should be very glad to have an expression of opinion from both of you regarding the resolutions of the A. F. of L. Philadelphia Convention. As you know, I have tried to reach the chief officer of the labor movements of the various countries, and mailed to them the copies of the resolutions. Thus far I have received but one reply, and that was from Mr. Legien, and he rather underestimates the value of a meeting of representatives of the organized labor movements of the various countries at the place and at the time when the representatives of the countries will meet to determine the questions of terms of peace and future conduct of nations.

With best wishes for both of you, for the men of Labor of your countries, and the world over, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 14, 1915

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

COLLEAGUES: The members of the Executive Council will recall the correspondence from Mr. Appleton of the British Trade Union Congress and Mr. Jouhaux of the French Federation of Trade Unions regarding the transfer of the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions to a neutral country, also my oral report upon the matter at the April meeting and the direction of the Executive Council that I should draft a program in accordance with my report, the program to be approved by the resident members and Treasurer Lennon after May 4. I have been so fully engrossed with other more pressing and important matters that as I have not been able to carry out the instructions of the Executive Council.

In the meantime President Legien has written me several communications, all of which were received in one enclosure by the same mail. Copies of all are enclosed herein. You will note that in his letter of April 23, President Legien states that Mr. Oudegeest has issued a call to the national trade union centers for a conference to discuss the matter of the proposed transfer of headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and that in his later letter of April 26, Mr. Legien states that as Mr. Oudegeest is of the opinion that it would be very difficult to call a conference or a convention at that time that they would try to come to an understanding as to the best way to solve the question and that he, Mr. Legien, will later give me more definite information.

You will also find enclosed copy of letter signed by Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux, dated May 4, regarding the same matter, together with copy of my reply.

The entire matter is submitted to the members of the Executive Council for your information and also for your advice, whether in view of the enclosed correspondence, it would not be better to defer carrying out the instructions given at our April meeting until further information is received from Messrs. Legien, Appleton, and Jouhaux.

Trusting that I may hear from you at your early convenience, and with kind regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

LONDON, June 16, 1915

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR GOMPERS: I am enclosing you, under personal cover, a copy of our annual report. You will find reproduced therein the correspondence which has recently taken place in connection with the International Secretariat. For the moment there is little further to add, but *it is true that public opinion has hardened here and that any attempt to attend a conference, such as the one that has been called at Amsterdam, would have increased our difficulties.*

You are perhaps reading a lot of stuff about the drunkenness and delinquencies of the British workmen; don't believe one-twentieth part. It is true that now, as always, there are a few here and there who play the fool and rogue but, generally speaking, the whole working class community has borne itself with courage and quiet devotion to national interests and safety. My own candid opinion is that the outcry has been raised by the really responsible people to cover up their own shortcomings; experts were not expert enough, government departments as usual were hide-bound, and contractors have cried out because, having contracted to produce more than their machinery and appliances would permit, they have had to find excuses somewhere.

You will have read of the deplorable anti-German outbreaks which followed the sinking of the "Lusitania." We were all very sorry for these outbreaks but they had been carefully prepared by the Northcliffe press; for weeks and weeks it had been harping on the one string.

We all regret the fact of war, but we are under no misapprehensions as to our position. Germany has definitely shown us that we must fight or die, and not only must we fight or die but all the other nations who dislike the idea of absorption into the German scheme must take up a similar attitude. We are not prepared as a nation to die just yet and we shall fight, and we expect to save ourselves and to help in the saving of other nations.

You will regret, for old association's sake, to hear that one of the aeroplane raids led to some damage being done in and around Shoreditch and to the loss of seven lives. There have been other raids in different parts of the country where the damage and loss of life has been sometimes more and sometimes less serious. Five times German aeroplanes or zeppelins have passed over the district in which my family live, but fortunately no bomb has dropped nearer than three miles to the place. This district is entirely rural and, as far as we know, there are no fortifications within many miles.

We do not anticipate an early termination of the war because we recognize that it is a war in which endurance counts for much; we are not yet destitute of the capacity for enduring things.

With kindest regards,

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 25, 1915*

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

COLLEAGUES: Because of the extremely important matters with which I have had to deal in the past month or so, it has been impossible for me to communicate with you upon the subject of our international relations with the organized labor movement of the several European countries as well as with the International Federation of Trade Unions as such. There are some matters with it that must receive the attention and action of the Executive Council and at a very early date. I have had recent correspondence copied which I have received from Mr. Jouhaux of the Confederation Generale du Travail of France; Mr. Appleton, Secretary of the British Federation of Trade Unions, and Mr. C. Legien, President of the German National Trade Union Center, and Mr. Oudegeest, President of the Netherlands (Holland) National Trade Union Center. The latter also writing on behalf of Mr. Legien. You will observe that a conference has been called and requests me for representation. May I prevail upon each member of the Executive Council to read fully and carefully the enclosed copies of that correspondence? If a conference could be held, and in my judgment it should be secured, by which the representatives of the trade union movement in various countries, including the United States, could meet, it would make for a tremendous influence in the existing terrible conditions and strained relations of the countries, as well as of the labor movement.

Secretary Morrison and I have discussed some of these matters and also the important matters which the Executive Council should consider in connection with our movement, and it seemed to us more than likely that it will be necessary to have a meeting of the Executive Council at a date earlier than was set at their last meeting but we have come to no definite conclusions as yet regarding it.

However, I ask you to keep all these matters in mind and after an early and careful reading of the enclosed correspondence to promptly write me a full and comprehensive statement regarding your judgment upon these affairs. In the

event of a meeting of the Executive Council being called I should judge from the expressions of the members that about July 18 will be appropriate.

With best wishes, I am,
Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1915

Mr. CHARLES W. BOWERMAN, *Secretary, Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, W. C., England.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: It has been sometime since I heard from you, and I would like to have you write me regularly about the conditions as they arise in the labor world of England and such other places that you have interesting facts. I suppose, however, that the terrific strain upon the people of England and the labor movement there has interfered and it is no fault of yours. The newspapers here publish voluminous dispatches from Europe and, of course, are read by all of us who are interested in all human events.

One of the subjects which has made a deep, and I may say, regrettable, impression is the proposed bill introduced in parliament providing for a compulsory system of labor. I earnestly hope that a condition will never arise, either permanently or temporarily, to establish and enforce a compulsory system of labor. I am watching for the result of the campaign of the representative Labor men of England before the expiration of the seven days' time allotted before a final determination is reached.

As I have already advised you, Mr. W. D. Mahon and Mr. Matthew Woll, who were elected last year to attend the 1914 Congress of the British Trade Unions, have been designated by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to attend your Bristol meeting September, 1915. Mr. Mahon advises me that by reason of the fact that a convention of his own international union taking place in September, it will be impossible for him to serve as one of the delegates, and hence that he can not go. Now there is scarcely any difficulty for the Executive Council to select a successor to Mr. Mahon, and the Executive Council may do it. But the question which I ask you, and which I know you will be very glad to answer, is whether, if a law should be passed providing for compulsory labor, the British Trade Union Congress will hold its meeting, and if it does, whether, in your judgment, we ought to send the fraternal delegates from the A. F. of L. to the Congress.

I have had considerable correspondence with the representative labor men of various countries in Europe and have had some conferences here with a few, and I have seen a copy of the correspondence published in the sixteenth annual report of the General Federation of Trade Unions. Several of the letters I have received and answered, and yesterday another interesting letter from Mr. Appleton, to which I have made reply to him and advised him, as I now do you, that is, I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Appleton herein for your information.

Kindly accept for yourself kindest regards and best wishes, and asking to be remembered to all our kind friends, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

BERLIN, August 16, 1915

TO THE TRADE UNION NATIONAL CENTERS.

DEAR COLLEAGUES: The President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Colleague Legien, has commissioned me to resume up from August 1st the publication of the international news letter temporarily suspended at the beginning of the war. According to the means at our disposal, it will, for the

present, appear in modest dimensions and be forwarded fortnightly in German, French and English. As heretofore, it will be devoted exclusively to trade unionistic subjects, to social politics, and matters related thereto. The French translations will, as before, be done by colleague Graber, formerly employed for many years as secretary to the Swiss Metal Workers and Watchmakers.

In regard to the forwarding of the news letter, we shall avail ourselves of the old addresses which, most probably, will in most cases no longer be adequate. *I therefore take the liberty of requesting you to let me have—at your earliest convenience—an exact list of the addresses of labor and trade union newspapers,* as well as of other places in your country to which the news letter is to be sent from here. We shall, of course, be pleased, if you use your discretion in adding addresses suitable for the purpose.

We take this opportunity of requesting you kindly to see to it that the labour papers of your country will be forwarded to us, as before. In many cases the editorial offices have, quite against our wishes, cut us off from an exchange of papers. We further beg you to arrange that important items for insertion in the news letter will be communicated to us directly as possible. It will be to the national centers' own interest to attend to these matters. As heretofore, the communications are kindly to be forwarded to the above address. Communications from the allied countries are to be addressed to the *International News Letter*, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam, Holland.

Anticipating that the matter will kindly be attended to speedily, I remain, with trade union greetings,

A. BAUMEISTER

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 18, 1915

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, Secretary, *The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee*, General Buildings, Aldwych, London, England.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: It has been brought to my attention that literature and other mail sent out from this office to Belgium, Austria, and to a few other addresses in other countries on the continent of Europe have been returned to this office. This means, of course, that the American labor movement is no longer able to communicate directly with the offices of the labor unions of those countries. This is particularly to be regretted at present, for it is extremely important that the representatives of the various labor movements should be in very close communication with each other in order to be helpful in promoting the general interests of all the workers in the whole world.

The labor movement is the one agency that insists upon making human rights and the value of human rights of paramount importance to all else. It is the agency that calls the attention to humanity and insists upon humanizing every activity of the state.

If you can suggest to me any way out of this present difficulty or be in any way helpful, I shall be very glad of this suggestion. I have been extremely interested in all of the accounts telling of conditions among the wage-earners of Great Britain and particularly in regard to your attitude toward proposals that would deprive you of the advantages gained by years of trade unionism.

I know you are crowded with work, but if you will keep me advised from time to time through literature and other means of anything that happens in connection with this, I shall gladly appreciate your courtesy.

With best wishes, I am,

Faternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 23, 1915

Mr. C. W. BOWERMAN, *Secretary, Parliamentary Committee, British Trade Union Congress, Bristol, England.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: I was in hopes that some arrangement could be made by which the fraternal delegates from the A. F. of L. to the Bristol meeting of the British Trades Union Congress could be in attendance. But the fates seem to be against us. The fact of the matter is that Mr. W. D. Mahon, one of the delegates elected by the A. F. of L. is president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, and the convention of that organization takes place in September, and that, of course, precludes the possibility of him attending. Then again Mr. Matthew Woll is president of the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, and the convention of that organization is now in session at San Francisco, Cal. He advises me that it is simply impossible for him to travel from California to New York, and from New York to England to be in attendance at your Congress.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L., entrusted with the power of filling vacancies, did not know of these circumstances at the time when the Executive Council met last, and the letter from Mr. Woll came so late that it was simply impossible for our council to choose other trade unionists in their stead.

It is genuinely regrettable that we shall have no representation at your forthcoming Congress for I feel that the fraternal intercourse has been plucked fragmentary, and yet from all appearances so effectually. Upon the heads of those who are responsible for this world disturbance and slaughter and sacrifice must rest a heavy weight.

Upon the organized labor movement rests the responsibility to make the rescue for the future; that peace may be brought about at the earliest possible hour; that when peace shall be declared, it shall find its basis rooted in the hearts and consciences of the liberty, justice and humanity loving men and women of our time.

Unfortunately, as one of the results of this terrible European conflict, fraternal relations have been largely, if not entirely interrupted. It has been impossible to have communications reach our fellow-unionists in some of the countries involved in the struggle or to receive communications from them. This, too, makes a break in our efforts for brotherhood.

Earlier in the year, that is, December 10, 1914, I transmitted to you and to Secretary Appleton of the British Federation of Trade Unions, and to the secretaries of all European national trade union centers, a proposition adopted by the A. F. of L., another copy of which is herewith enclosed. I am not quite sure whether it is upon the agenda of your Congress, but it seems to me that the propositions are of so far-reaching a character, and may have so tremendous an influence upon the practical projects for peace, justice, democracy and fraternity, that it should have the deepest consideration at the hands of your Congress. Therefore imagine my additional chagrin when the A. F. of L. will be denied the opportunity of having its fraternal delegates present the matter in person to the officers and delegates to the British Congress.

In the absence of representation at Bristol, may I ask that you will impress upon the Congress not to fail to elect delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at San Francisco, beginning November 8, 1915. Let us, as best we can, take up the broken thread of the interchange of fraternal delegates, and thereby aid in establishing a better, more harmonious, practical and effective international trade union movement of the civilized globe.

Kindly extend to the delegates at the Bristol Congress the fervent hope that the principles of trade unionism and solidarity shall be maintained at all haz-

ards, and the earnest good wishes of the organized labor movement of America under the banner of the A. F. of L.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

P. S.—Of course you recall the fact that Messrs. Mahon and Woll were elected to attend the British Trades Union Congress of last year, and that the meeting of the Congress was postponed and that these two delegates held over to attend your present meeting.—S. G.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE
GENERAL BUILDINGS, ALDWYCH

LONDON, August 30, 1916

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President, American Federation of Labor.*

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: Your communication of the 18th inst., relative to the difficulty you are experiencing in communication with Austria, Belgium, and other places on the continent of Europe, duly reached me this morning. I may state that we here experience similar difficulties and great delays in corresponding with our friends in Belgium and France, although we have had no occasion to test the postal facilities with Austria or Germany.

I am just leaving for Bristol in connection with our Congress, and will write you more fully upon the matter later.

Up to this moment no word has been received from your delegates as to when and where they will land in this country. I do hope that we are not to be deprived of the pleasure of greeting them at Bristol next week.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours faithfully,

C. W. BOWERMAN
Secretary

CABLEGRAM

BRISTOL, 31 Aug., 1915

GOMPERS, AFEL., WASHINGTON, D. C.

Have fraternal delegates started; when and where can committee meet them?
BOWERMAN

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 4, 1915

BOWERMAN, Bristol, England.

A. F. of L. sends fraternal greeting and best wishes to Congress and through it to all British trade unionists. We regret impossibility our delegates attending British Congress, but urge you elect yours to Federation Convention at San Francisco, Cal., beginning November 8, and thus avoid breaking tie which binds us.

GOMPERS

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

BRISTOL, W. C., ENGLAND,

September 7th, 1915

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *American Federation of Labor.*

DEAR FRIEND GOMPERS: We have all had considerable difficulty with our correspondence with belligerent countries, but if you have anything to communicate and you will send it direct to me, I will go to our foreign office and endeavour to get the matter through. You will understand that their chief objection is to information that may be likely to be advantageous to the enemy countries.

Since last writing you I have myself been right into the extreme trenches, actually within forty-five yards of the German trenches. I have seen our soldiers actually at work and have, myself, been under fire for considerable periods. I have had experience of the sniper, the thirteen pounder and of practically all the shells up to the forty-two centimetre. I have mixed amongst the troops quite freely, both in the presence and in the absence of their officers, and what strikes me most is the magnificent spirit, both of officers and men, and the wonderful comradeship existing between them. I have seen beautiful examples of the kindness of officers and of their insight into human nature just as I have seen wonderful examples of calm determined courage under serious stress and difficulty. Both the British and the French governments afforded facilities to O'Grady, Crinion, and myself to visit the armies at the front. Owing to his lameness O'Grady was not able to go into the trenches, but Crinion and I went everywhere, and for a short spell, at least, endured most of the things our soldiers have been called upon to endure. I can assure you that it is not a pleasant sensation to feel the shells whizzing within a few feet of your head, or the sniper's bullet humming past you so close that you can almost translate its pleasant drone into musical terms. Still, I count the experience as amongst the valuable experiences of my life and I have come back quite determined to do my share in securing for our men everything that is necessary to give them opportunities of securing victory. I am the more anxious to do this because I am satisfied that defeat for us would mean the annihilation of every truly democratic sentiment and practice. Our men are being killed in thousands in Flanders and in the Dardanelles and whatever our opinions of war may be we can not, nor do we desire, to escape the sorrowful pride their courage compels.

I have been in France recently in consultation with Jouhaux and his difficulties are great because he has many idealists whose knowledge of actualities is small and whose general outlook is impracticable. I have listened to long speeches, lasting two hours, on the awfulness of war and its futility, practically every sentence of which I agreed with, and then I have shuddered at the lack of conclusiveness and the failure to understand existing circumstances.

This letter is being written from the Bristol Trade Union Congress which has just unanimously passed a resolution pledging itself to support the government, but expressing unabated antagonism to conscription or the importation of any phase of Prussian militarism.

With kindest regards to all,

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 24, 1915.

Mr. W. S. APPLETON, *Secretary, The General Federation of Trade Unions, Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, England.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your letter of September 7th was read with the greatest interest. Your vivid description of your experiences in going into the trenches made the bullet seem very close indeed.

From your statement that the British and the French governments afforded facilities to you three representatives of organized labor to visit the armies at the front it is evident that the power of the labor movement is recognized even by war governments as one of the most powerful constructive forces influencing the life of the nation.

I have followed with keenest interest and concern different efforts made to compel the labor movement to lower its standards and to sacrifice rights that are the result of decades of struggle. Information has just come to me that an effort will be made in Canada to foist upon the workers a compulsory work

law by amending the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act. I have just received a copy of that bill, but have not yet had time to give it attention, owing to the fact that our Executive Council is now in session, and in addition to our regular work, have under consideration the preparation of our annual report to the San Francisco Convention. Secretary Draper of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has promised to write me in the near future fully in connection with this bill. The indications are that the Canadian workers are alive to the danger in such legislation. To me it is one of the most glorious and inspiring of events to see working men resist efforts of compulsion and stand firmly in a demand for their rights. When I read the account of the action of the Trades Union Congress in regard to conscription, it made me thrill.

You refer in your letter to the fact that Mr. Jouhaux has met with difficulties because many idealists whose knowledge of actualities is small and whose general outlook is impracticable. Indeed the events of the past year have demonstrated many of the fallacies of impractical idealists, and we have had here in our own country some of those who desire peace at any price. Some of these, together with a group of that class of persons that is always hanging on the fringe of any movement hoping to gain some advantage for themselves, have tried to inaugurate a campaign of so-called neutrality and international peace.

Several of these movements have endeavored to use the labor movement to promote their purposes, but it has been due to the intelligence, the honor and the integrity of the officers, as well as the rank and file of our trade unions that these efforts have been defeated and the purposes of their leaders exposed. It was in June that one of these peace societies endeavored to hold a "peace" meeting in New York City for the purpose of influencing our international policy. I was invited to attend that meeting. I am enclosing a copy of the letter that I wrote declining to participate in that meeting, and also a copy of a letter further explaining my position in regard to that matter. More recently under another name an effort was made to hold another "peace" meeting at Chicago. I declined to attend this meeting also and wrote to the chairman of the committee arranging for that meeting. A copy of that letter is enclosed. We are all of us earnestly hoping that an early peace shall be brought about, a peace that shall be honorable, just, humane, and shall make for greater democracy in all of the institutions of all of the countries of the world. I earnestly hope that the Bristol Congress arranged for fraternal delegates to our San Francisco Convention.

Permit me to thank you for your kind offer to get through any correspondence for the belligerent countries. Recently I received a circular letter from Mr. Baumeister, and as soon as I can get to it, I shall reply and shall forward it in your care so that you can forward it to him.

We are exceedingly anxious to have direct information from the labor movement of England, France, Germany, and all other countries, and therefore hope that you will write me as often as convenient.

As a matter of fact, it is possible that the American government may be in the best position at the appropriate time to act as the mediator between the countries now at war, and of course in that effort the A. F. of L. will put forth its best efforts, but we realize here that any premature or insincere effort may prove an anti-climax and render even the good services of our country and our movement ineffective.

With best wishes, and hoping to hear from you frequently, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President, A. F. of L.

Oct. 4, 1915

Mr. A. BAUMEISTER, *International News Letter, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam, Holland.*

MY DEAR MR. BAUMEISTER: It was with much interest that I received and read your letter of August the 16th, addressed to the national centers with the advice that the publication of the international news letter was resumed on August 1st. Thus far copy has not reached me, but I am looking forward to receiving it regularly.

I am glad to comply with your request by enclosing to you herein the latest copy of the list of trade union publications and official journals, and will notify the editors of the labor press of the resumption of the publication of the international news letter, and your request for copies of all trade union publications.

We are now in the midst of preparation of reports and work for the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L., for which we will leave headquarters probably about the 30th of this month. I shall not fail to have copies of the reports and the daily proceedings sent to you.

With kindest regards to you and Brother Legien, and hoping to hear from you both often, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

In the following issue of the A. F. of L. *Weekly News Letter*, Mr. Baumeister's request for the American labor publications was published and sent all over America.—S. G.

In an article by Mr. J. Oudegeest, of Holland, in the *Weekly Report of the International Transport Workers' Federation* published in Berlin, August 7, 1915, upon the subject of "The International Trade Union Movement," he discusses a number of matters, all of them of great interest, but scarcely germane to the matters here presented. In one part of Mr. Oudegeest's article, however, he states that he does not know whether Appleton and Jouhaux acted in conformity with their organizations. He then adds that "they subsequently asked Sam Gompers in Washington for his opinion, who agreed to their proposal. Whether he was authorized by his organization is also not known to me. For the present I am inclined to the opinion that the organization in question did not express any demand to that effect and that the resolutions are of a purely personal nature." It was because of Mr. Oudegeest's insinuation that I acted upon my own personal authority, when, as is shown, I submitted the entire question to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that I wrote him the following letter.—S. G.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 16, 1915

MR. J. OUDEGEEST, *President, Dutch Federation of Trade Unions, Reguliersgracht 80, Amsterdam, Holland.*

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: My attention was called to your article published in the *Weekly Report of the International Transport Workers' Federation* in which you refer to a series of articles which "has, no doubt, rejoiced the hearts of all those who would like to see the German party and trade union movement broken up." You then quote the comment of a Russian paper upon the proposal to transfer the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions to Switzerland. The natural inference is that you regard the proposal to transfer the headquarters as an effort to break up the German trade union movement. Although I think you have the wrong interpretation of the proposal made by Messrs. Jouhaux and Appleton, yet I would not have replied to your statement had you not questioned my authority to transmit the proposal of the English and the French representatives to Mr. Legien.

As the President of the American Federation of Labor, I am authorized to act for the Federation except at such times as the convention of the delegates representing the various affiliated internationals, or the Executive Council, may be in session. For my judgment and fidelity in performing the duties of my office, I am answerable to those whose representative I am.

In one part of your article you express a doubt whether Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux "acted in conformity with their organization." Of course I am not in a position to affirm or deny this, but when you express your doubt whether or not I was authorized by the A. F. of L., you do me a grave injustice, and against which I must enter my emphatic protest. You may remember that when I attended the Paris Congress in 1909, I was asked by Mr. A. Hueber to declare at once that the A. F. of L. would become affiliated to the International Secretariat, and that I answered substantially that while I favored the affiliation and would so report and did so report, that in the American labor movement autocratic power to decide things was not vested in the President of the A. F. of L., and therefore affiliation would have to be determined by the next convention. Of course as you know I did recommend to the next convention of the A. F. of L. its affiliation, and that the convention adopted the recommendation and became affiliated to the International Secretariat. Somehow you do not seem to understand that only upon such subjects where instructions or the laws of the A. F. of L. are direct can the President of the A. F. of L. act. In the instance in question, I laid the proposition of Jouhaux and Appleton before my colleagues of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and they approved the proposition for the neutralization of the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

When Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux wrote me that in their opinion it was necessary for the best interests of the International Federation of Trade Unions to have the headquarters removed to a neutral country, and asked me to transmit the proposition to Mr. Legien, it was my plain duty, as the representative of the American national labor movement, to perform this necessary service in order to get the proposition, through Mr. Legien, before the various national labor movements for consideration. My letter to Mr. Legien contained the statement made to me by Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux and can not in any way be misinterpreted to be an attack, either direct or indirect, upon the German national labor movement, or against the unity of the international trade union movement. The proposition was a general one to establish a regulation applicable at any time under similar circumstances and to any country. It was in no sense an attack upon any one, only an effort to safeguard the interests of the workers of all of the countries.

My connection with the proposal was that of an intermediary representing the labor movement of a neutral country, and using my good offices in behalf of the best interests of all. The letters of Messrs. Appleton and Jouhaux to me in regard to this matter were submitted to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at our meeting held during April, 1915. My associates in the Executive Council approved the plan suggested by the representatives of the French and the British trade union movements. The correspondence in connection with the proposition was later published in the Sixteenth Annual Report of the British General Federation of Trade Unions. A copy of that report, which contained letters from all parties in interest was sent to every member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. who endorsed my course in the matter. My correspondence in regard to matters in connection with the International Federation of Trade Unions has always been of an official nature and as President of the A. F. of L. My letter to Mr. Legien in regard to the proposal was signed by me as President of the A. F. of L. It has been my un failing custom never to use my official title when writing in a personal capacity, and the insinuation that I have done so is unjustifiable and unwarranted.

The proposition that I transmitted to Mr. Legien had no connection at all

with the German party, and the German trade union movement. It concerned only the international movement. My position, which has been publicly stated and repeatedly reaffirmed, is that the wage-earners of every country have the right to work out their own problems in accordance with their own best judgment. No foreign influence of whatever character has a right to interfere in national problems and without the consent of those concerned.

I have always maintained the ideal of the sacredness of human rights, individual rights and national rights, and I have never deviated from that ideal. Since the beginning of the European war, the purpose and policy of the A. F. of L. have been in favor of refraining from any word or act that would involve us in the European conflict, because we are convinced that only by maintaining that attitude in spirit and in fact, can we have any influence to help to bring about peace and be most powerful to maintain democratic ideals and the interests of humanity when the terms of peace shall be under consideration. It is because I desired above all things to maintain the International Federation of Trade Unions, as well as the national movements affiliated with it, free from any association that would engender racial bitterness and prejudice that grow out of partisan struggles, that the judgment of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., including my own, was in accord with the proposition of Messrs. Jouhaux and Appleton for the neutralization of the headquarters of the international federation.

It may not be possible to maintain international peace, but the workers must see to it that they maintain the unity and the neutrality of the world trade union movement, and that no force and no agency shall be permitted to use this movement for humanity for any lesser purposes of the promotion of the welfare of any particular group of members. The proposition ought to be considered and acted upon in the same humanitarian spirit in which it was proposed.

The trade union movement of every country is the hope of the workers. It is that which affords them the most necessary protection and is the greatest power in furthering their interests and their welfare. As every day more clearly demonstrates that the center of power has gravitated from government and political affairs to economic affairs, the significance and the importance of the trade union movement becomes increasingly apparent. Its maintenance is of vital concern to those who do the world's work. I am convinced that those who make up the labor movements of the various countries are men and women of as high ideals, as broad purposes, as great honesty, integrity and ability as can be found in any other walks of life. In our own country we have seen the men of Labor resist insidious attacks upon our national policy of beneficent neutrality. These efforts to use the labor movement of America for partisan purposes have attempted to corrupt the leaders and the rank and file by the offer of money and by attempting to instigate strikes that would promote the interests of particular countries.

It has been due to the honesty and the steadfastness of the men in the labor movement that these attempts have failed. Men of the labor movement of America have held true to the guiding purpose that every condition and every opportunity must be made to serve the betterment of the wage-earners and the cause of humanity due to their wisdom and honesty. It is our purpose to so maintain our power and influence that we shall be in a position to demand in the Peace Congress that our ideals shall be respected, and we hope to infuse into the deliberations of that body a spirit that is mindful of human rights and human welfare.

The position of the A. F. of L. in connection with this matter will be fully presented in the report which the Executive Council shall make to the San Francisco Convention under the headings "International Peace and War," and "The International Federation of Trade Unions." As soon as a copy of that report is available I shall send you one. I am sure that a careful reading of the statements will convince you that the American labor movement desires earnestly and honestly to further the interests of humanity and to be helpful

in promoting those things which are really important for the best development of the workers in all of the countries.

I am sending an extra copy of this letter to you herein and in justice to the American labor movement, as well as myself, expect that it will be published in an early issue of the weekly report.

I wish you would send me copies of the "*Het Volk*" containing the articles to which you refer and ask the editor for me to place my name upon his mailing list. If he so desires, I shall be very glad to send him regularly the issues of the *American Federationist*, the official organ of the A. F. of L.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President, A. F. of L.

De ember, 1915

In the November, 1915, issue of the *American Federationist* we published the correspondence from the representatives of organized labor of several countries. While the November issue was being printed we received a letter from L. Jouhaux, Secretary of the French Trades Union Centre. Because it contains so important an expression it is deemed necessary to print it at once. The letter follows.—S. G.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR

TO THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRALS.

COMRADES: In February, 1915, we brought to the knowledge of the national trade union centrals affiliated with the International Trade Union Secretariat, in agreement with The General Federation of Trades Unions of England, a proposal for the transference of the bureau headquarters of the international to a neutral country, as its operation ought to be assured by a staff equally belonging to a neutral country. By way of indication, we gave the name of the city of Berne, Switzerland, as the one possible to be chosen as the provisional seat of the international trade union bureau.

Neither in our mind, nor that of the General Federation of Trades Unions, did there enter any sentiment of animosity or national hatred.

We wished that the workingmen's "international" might contrive to work for the good of all, even during this critical period.

The only favorable responses which came to us were from the American Federation of Labor of America, the Federation of Labor of Australia, and the Trade Union Central of Switzerland, this last with reserves.

The other countries affiliated have abstained from replying or have been in a situation in which a reply was impossible. This was the case of Belgium.

As a counter proposal to ours, we have received an invitation to formulate our notice so as to call an international conference which should discuss the question.

Our reply was negative.

From the non-realization of the second proposal we conclude that it was rejected by a majority of the Centrals consulted.

Today we received an invitation to collaborate with the *International Bulletin*, official organ of the trade union international bureau, which, it is said, is to reappear under the same conditions as before the war.

To this third proposal, we are obliged to reply in the negative. Our collaboration in the publication of the *International Bulletin* would be, in fact, our adhesion as to the operation without modification of the personnel and the place of the International Trade Union Secretariat.

This situation of waiting and inertia is liable to continue indefinitely, to the great prejudice of the international.

This is why we again bring to the knowledge of the national trade union centrals our proposal to transfer the bureau of the international trade unions

to a neutral country, its operation to be assured by a staff also coming from a neutral country.

With loyalty we declare to the comrades of all countries that our solution is the only one that can permit an operation, effective and efficacious, of the workers' international during the war.

We appeal to all the organizations of workers not to see in our proposal aught else than the desire to aid and establish the international life of the people organized in the field of production.

The neutralization of the international bureau is a measure imposed by circumstances.

Without ulterior motive regarding the personality of the international trade union movement, we think that it would be beneficent to rally again the organized proletarians of all countries, in giving to each of them a full possibility of the common work. For that purpose, it is indispensable that the high sense of our proposal, disengaged from all personal calculation, should be understood, and that it be approved.

To reflect on the facts, in taking account of the events we are impotent to control, should be an international matter of conscience; this would lead, we do not hesitate to say, to an acceptance of our provisional solution, limited to the duration of the war.

We have a lively hope in the impartiality of the militants of all the national trade union centrals, in their attachment to the international, and it is in this hope that we address you our fraternal and trade union greeting.

Paris, September 20, 1915. For the "Confederation General du Travail."

L. JOUHAUX, *Secretary.*

Address 33, Rue de la Grange aux Belles, Paris, Seine, France.

January, 1917

Under date of November 20, 1916, Mr. W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, wrote President Gompers that in accord with the suggestion of the American labor movement a letter had been addressed to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and that similar letters would be sent by the Italian and French labor movements to their respective ministers. Mr. Appleton stated that if the names and addresses of representatives of a group that really stood for the labor movement of Russia could be obtained, an attempt would be made to submit a similar communication to the Russian Minister.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH STREET,

LONDON, 20th November, 1916

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor,

A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GOMPERS: I am enclosing you a copy of the letter that has come through from Amsterdam and also a copy of a letter which I have sent to Jouhaux, which clearly indicates the disinclination of the Management Committee to attend any meeting of belligerents.

I am also enclosing a copy of the letter which was sent to the Prime Minister. This indicates the steps that we have taken since the Leeds conference. It is intended that similar letters shall go to the French and Italian Ministers from their own people. If we can find any one who can really be said to stand for labor in Russia, an attempt will also be made to submit the program to the responsible Russian Minister. This you will see harmonizes with your own suggestions.

You will be interested to learn that when the letter to the Prime Minister was published, it received very general notice and favorable comment from the British press.

I trust you will receive all these communications. I am placing them before the authorities prior to posting them, in order that nothing may be deleted.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London, W. C.
International Labor Charter.

September, 1916.

DEAR SIR: I am instructed by the Management Committee to forward the appended copy of correspondence with the Prime Minister. The committee feels that your organization may desire to discuss the program outlined and to help in the creation of a public opinion favorable to the industrial and social advancement of the workers in this and other countries.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

The Management Committee decided to send the following letter to the Prime Minister:

30th August, 1916.

The Right Honorable Herbert H. Asquith, M. P., Prime Minister of Great Britain, 10 Downing Street, S. W.

DEAR SIR: The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions desires that you should not misunderstand the purport and intention of this communication. It is not an indirect attempt to generally discuss terms of peace or to elicit expressions of opinion concerning them. The Management Committee realizes the futility of such discussion at a time when neither group of belligerents admits defeat.

The program enunciated aims at the resuscitation and effective direction of efforts to legislatively improve standards of life and education in different countries and amongst different peoples. Already something has been attempted, the initiative of which lies to the credit of Britain. The memorial addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of the Holy Alliance in 1818 is understood to be the first clear expression of the desire for international protection of working-class interests.

Since that time many proposals for international cooperation in efforts to improve social conditions have been discussed. In 1881, and again in 1889, the Government of Switzerland brought proposals before European nations, and in 1890 representatives of 14 states met in Berlin. This conference of diplomats and statesmen sat for 15 days, and placed on record a number of opinions. Nothing really definite was achieved. The failure of the diplomats discouraged the idealists, but did not prevent their continued efforts, and in 1904 France and Italy signed what was perhaps the first Labor Treaty.

This treaty provided amongst other things for:

1. Facilities for the transfer of moneys deposited in savings banks.
2. Facilities for payment of contributions and the payment of benefits from national pension funds.
3. The interstate operation of insurance against accidents incidental to employment, i. e., workmen's compensation.
4. The title of subject of either country to unemployment insurance.
5. The protection of minors employed in industry.

Since the signing of this treaty other international agreements have

been entered into, and today it can not be said that in pressing for labor legislation on an international basis representatives of workmen are advocating the adoption of new or altogether impossible principles; they are rather asking that existing arrangements may be extended to other subjects and areas.

The Management Committee respectfully suggest that you, as Prime Minister of Great Britain, should bring before your colleagues in the Cabinet the desirability of discussing with the governments of allied powers the possibility of agreements dealing internationally with the labor of women and children, of night work, weekly rest days, and the maximum length of the working day, both for hazardous and non-hazardous occupations. You are also asked to use your influence and power to promote the appointment of an allied commission of inquiry into the laws of hygiene and safety and the best methods of applying these industrially and socially. Railways, ships, docks, and mines offer immediate opportunities for the adoption of automatic and other aids to safety, and an arrangement should be made for a common struggle against industrial poisons, dangerous processes, and illnesses pertaining to occupations.

These are not pleas for classes, but for states. The allied nations are soon to be faced with grave recuperative problems. Dissatisfaction and inefficiency will dangerously affect their chances. They ought to secure the willing, intelligent, and educated cooperation of all their people, and maintain these people in healthy efficiency, if they are to avert disaster.

The Management Committee is not unaware of the difficulties which such a program will encounter, but it is absolutely certain that the sacrifices made by the people for whom it pleads demand the highest consideration and the best efforts of those who are called to govern. Whatever the difficulties are, the task of raising the standard of civilization should be faced with courage and determination.

The Management Committee has recently conferred with representative leaders of workmen from Belgium, France, and Italy, and in these countries working-class opinion is strongly in favor of ameliorative labor legislation on international lines, with agreements incorporated in treaties, framed prior to or in connection with the treaties that end in peace. It is hoped that Russia and Portugal may also be induced to assist in framing a common standard of well-being. If this is done the allied powers will set a great example, not only to neutral but to enemy countries.

Nearly all other wars have ended with treaties which conserved the rights of kings, the boundaries of nations, and the privileges of property. The poor people have had no part in the making of war or peace; they have suffered, they have endured contumely, and they have died, but never yet has monarch or statesman made their situation a determining factor in a treaty of peace.

The time has arrived for better methods; for the consideration of the common rather than the particular interest; for the wide conception of human rights rather than the narrow one, and a beginning may be made on the lines indicated.

The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions is profoundly impressed with the importance of preventative and constructive action, and will await with grave anxiety your reply. When this has been received steps will be taken, in conjunction with our allied colleagues, to approach other governments with a view to stimulating their sympathies and activities.

I have the honor to remain,

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON.

The following reply has been received:

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, S. W.,

September 1st, 1916.

SIR: I am desired by the prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th August, which shall receive attention.

I am, your obedient servant,

MAURICE BONHAM CARTER

Mr. W. A. Appleton

The letter which was transmitted to Mr. Appleton from Carl Legien through J. Oudegeest was published in the December, 1916, *American Federationist*, on page 1154, together with a cablegram from Mr. Legien cancelling the conference called.

Mr. Appleton wrote the following letter to L. Jouhaux with reference to the conference proposed by Mr. Legien:

21st November, 1916

MONSIEUR L. JOUHAX,
33, Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles,
Paris, (Xe)

DEAR JOUHAX: The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions has considered the invitation to attend the Conference at Berne, sent by Legien. They have unanimously decided that they can not be represented.

There are many reasons for their decision; two will suffice. The first is, that any attempt to send delegates to such a conference would be misunderstood and resented by 95 per cent of the membership of the Federation. A further reason is that such a conference would be unable to discuss any question with amicability. The methods of war adopted by the Central Powers have already developed strong hostile opinions which are being intensified by the deportations from Belgium and the north of France and by the tragedy which is being played out in Poland.

While such opinions exist, conferences between representative trade unionists from belligerent countries can accomplish little useful work.

While the committee is opposed to a conference such as the one suggested by Legien, it will always be prepared to meet and confer with representatives of the Federations of Allied nations. It does not suggest meeting neutrals because such a suggestion might be misinterpreted.

I have learned today that neither Sweden, Norway, nor Denmark will attend the conference.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON

May, 1917

On March 21 Mr. Gompers sent the following cablegram:

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1917

NTSCHEIDGE,

Russian Duma, Petrograd.

We rejoice with Russia's workers in their newly achieved liberty. The splendid proclamation of your provisional government, declaring for free speech and press and the right of workers to organize and if necessary to strike for their rights guarantees to Russia's workers opportunity for freedom and progress and assures the New Russia her future greater glory. International labor welcomes the triumph of freedom and the downfall of despotism throughout the world.

GOMPERS

The cablegram was either not received, or if received, not made public in

Russia. The following cablegram was transmitted to the American Ambassador Francis at Petrograd:

WASHINGTON, *April 2, 1917*

NSTSCHEIDGE, Petrograd.

Representative of Working People of Russia.

Accept this message to the men of labor of Russia. We send greeting. The newly established liberty of Russia finds a warm response in the hearts of America's workers. We rejoice at the intelligence, courage and the conviction of a people who even while concentrating every effort upon defense against foreign aggression, have reorganized their own institutions upon principles of freedom and democracy. But it is impossible to achieve the ideal state immediately. When the right foundation has been established, the masses can daily utilize opportunities for progress, more complete justice, and greater liberty. Freedom is achieved in meeting the problems of life and work. It can not be established by revolution only—it is the product of evolution. Even in the Republic of the United States of America the highest ideals of freedom are incomplete—but we have the will and the opportunity. In the name of America's workers whose watchwords are Justice, Freedom and Humanity, we plead that Russia's workers and masses shall maintain what you have already achieved and to practically and rationally solve the problems of today and to safeguard the future from the reactionary forces who would gladly take advantage of your lack of unity to re-establish the old regime of royalty reaction tyranny and injustice. Our best wishes are with Russia in her new opportunity.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor

A cablegram from Ambassador Francis to the State Department reads as follows:

Gompers' cable delivered to Tscheidze, Miliukoff and given to the press. Think it excellent and will have good effect.

The papers announced that the Cuban, British and French Governments would send over representatives to a war conference with the United States Government. Mr. Gompers then sent these cablegrams:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1917*

PREMIER RIBOT, Paris.

As President American Federation of Labor, President Wilson appointed me member Advisory Commission Council of National Defense. Special work my committee is conservation and welfare of workers and for effective industrial service. Cable dispatch today states commission from the British and French Governments will come to United States for conference. We need here the additional advice of representatives of France's workers and respectfully urge that Jouhaux and Keufer be sent here as part of French Commission. Have cabled Premier George of England to like effect for English labor representatives.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 12, 1917*

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, London.

As President American Federation of Labor, President Wilson appointed me member Advisory Commission Council of National Defense. Special work my committee is conservation and welfare of workers and for effective industrial service. Cabled dispatch today

states commission from the British and French Governments will come to United States for conference. We need here the additional advice of representatives of England's workers, and respectively urge that Appleton and Bowerman be sent here as part of British Commission. Have cabled Premier Ribot of France to like effect for French representatives.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 16, 1917*

PRESIDENT MENOCAL, Havana, Cuba.

As President of the American Federation of Labor, President Wilson appointed me member of the Advisory Commission Council of National Defense. The Council appointed me Chairman of the Committee on Labor, Conservation and Welfare of Workers. When I learned that the French and British Governments were each to send two representatives of labor unions to confer with my committee and give us the benefit of their experience and advice, Lloyd George cabled he would send two labor leaders and two women conversant with welfare work to confer with my labor committee. I expect similar compliance from Premier Ribot. Inasmuch as you will appoint a Cuban commission to come to Washington, may I prevail upon you to also send two representative members of labor unions for conference with us?

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The following replies were received:

LONDON, *April 13, 1917*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Washington.

Delighted to comply with your request. Two labour leaders and representatives of welfare department of Ministry of Munitions will leave for America as soon as possible.

LYOYD GEORGE

CUBAN GOVERNMENT, HAVANA, CUBA,

April 18, 1917

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Washington.

I shall take up the matter to which you refer in your cablegram with different labor leaders, so that proper representation of labor unions be designated to go to Washington at the same time with Cuban Commission.

MARIO G. MENOCAL

November, 1917

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reported to the Baltimore Convention the proposal of Karl Legien that the International Federation of Trade Unions hold a conference at Berne, Switzerland. The chief matter which he desired that conference to consider was the continuation of International Federation of Trade Unions and the publication of the International News Letter. Mr. Legien's communications relative to this conference were incorporated in a supplementary report which the Executive Council made to the Baltimore Convention. The convention decided that it was inexpedient to participate in such a conference at the present time. A similar position was taken by other international organizations with the result that the following cablegram was received from Mr. Legien:

CABLEGRAM

KJOEBENHAVN

2.49 a. m.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

International trade union conference at Berne, Switzerland, 11 of December cancelled until other information is given. Letter follows.

LEGIEU

The Baltimore Convention decided to suggest to all international labor organizations that they urge upon their national governments the necessity and the justice for including in their national delegation to the World Peace Congress, when it is held, representatives of workers of their country. This proposition was enthusiastically indorsed by the British labor movement and submitted to the Prime Minister. The correspondence of Mr. W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, was published in the January, 1917, issue of the *American Federationist*. A letter was received from L. Jouhaux which indicated clearly that the American proposal had not been correctly interpreted. Mr. Jouhaux's letter is as follows:

PARIS, January 30, 1917

COMRADE GOMPERS, *President,*
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

COMRADE: After examining the resolution of your Baltimore Convention, our Comité Confederal regrets that you should have abandoned your first proposition which had been accepted by it and which gave it much satisfaction. It considered that it would be perhaps possible to take up again this first proposition under another form. It is absolutely indispensable that an exchange of view may be entered into between the delegates of the different labor movements who may be able to attend the Peace Congress. This exchange of view should precede the Peace Congress and enable the labor delegates to place themselves in accord upon the general principles which they will defend.

While accepting your second proposition the committee puts in this essential condition: "Possibility of preliminary reunion between the labor delegates attending the Peace Congress."

It is absolutely indispensable that there may not be points of particular view that the representative of the proletariat defend. What is necessary is to obtain the insertion of general clauses which in identical terms will safeguard future peace, which will guarantee the workers' interests and permit the development of the true international of the people.

As much as you, we estimate that this war should mark the triumph of democracy, realize the federation of nations, and institute the obligatory arbitration of all conflicts between nations.

It is in this spirit that the National Federation of French Workers always speak, it is in this spirit that they look for peace to be concluded, which they hope is possibly nearer.

You will, Comrade Gompers, submit our proposition to your organization and communicate to us the decision which they will reach in this regard.

In the meantime receive for you and all the comrades our fraternal salutations.

L. JOUHAUX.

American Federationist, November, 1917

German Correspondence

When it became apparent that war was inevitable between the United States and the Imperial German Government, Mr. Gompers made an appeal to the working people of Germany with the hope that if possible the working people of the two countries might avert impending warfare. Mr. Gompers' cablegram was as follows:

LEGIEN,

Berlin.

February 4, 1917

Can't you prevail upon German government to avoid break with United States and thereby prevent universal conflict?

GOMPERS

To this cablegram he received the following reply:

CABLEGRAM

BERLIN, VIA TUCKERTON, N. J., *February 11, 1917*

GOMPERS, A. F. of L.,

Washington, D. C.

German labor has striven for peace since war outbreak. Eighteen opposed to extension of conflict. Rejection of Germany's sincere offer immediate peace negotiations, continuation of cruel starvation war on our women, children and aged, enemies' frankly avowed aims at destruction of Germany provoked aggravation of war. No intervention with government on my part has any chance of success unless America prevails upon England to discontinue starvation war as being contrary to law of nations. I appeal to American labor not to allow themselves to be made catspaws of war-monger by sailing war zone and thus contribute extending conflict. International labor must unflinchingly work for immediate peace.

KARL LEGIEN

Mr. Gompers again cabled to Germany as follows:

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 2, 1917*

CARL LEGIEN,

Berlin SO 16 Engelnfer 15,

Berlin.

This may be the last word the labor movements of our respective countries will have an opportunity to express before war conditions lasting perhaps for years may put an end to peaceful fraternal intercourse and communication. You know that the United States can not influence another country with which it is at peace to prevent a siege or blockade of a city or a country with which that country is at war. The United States must however protect its citizens from unlawful and unwarranted destruction of their lives. We are all doing our level best to avert actual war and we have the right to insist that the men of labor of Germany exert their last ounce of effort to get your government to make an immediate and satisfactory avowal that shall save all from America's entrance into the universal conflict.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

Cablegrams to the Leaders of the Russian Revolution

The big outstanding gain of the war thus far is the revolution in Russia that overthrew the autocratic government and created opportunity for freedom. Russia's freedom was the thought that thrilled the whole world and it was

felt that that one result for the people that had for centuries been shackled and oppressed, was worth all of the suffering and loss entailed by the war. Russia's freedom was hailed in this country with delight by all citizens, but particularly by the American workers. Their feeling was expressed in the following cablegrams sent to Russian revolutionary leaders:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 21, 1917*

NSTCHEIDGE, Russian Duma,
Petrograd.

We rejoice with Russia's workers in their newly achieved liberty. The splendid proclamation of your provisional government, declaring for free speech and press and the right of workers to organize and if necessary to strike for their rights guarantees to Russia's workers opportunity for freedom and progress and assures the New Russia her future greater glory. International labor welcomes the triumph of freedom and the downfall of despotism throughout the world.

GOMPERS

WASHINGTON, *April 2, 1917*

NSTCHEIDGE,
Petrograd.

Representative of working people of Russia. Accept this message to the men of labor of Russia. We send greeting. The newly established liberty of Russia finds a warm response in the hearts of America's workers. We rejoice at the intelligence, courage and the conviction of a people who even while concentrating every effort upon defense against foreign aggression, have reorganized their own institutions upon principles of freedom and democracy. But it is impossible to achieve the ideal state immediately. When the right foundation has been established, the masses can daily utilize opportunities for progress, more complete justice and greater liberty. Freedom is achieved in meeting the problems of life and work. It can not be established by revolution only—it is the product of evolution. Even in the Republic of the United States of America the highest ideals of freedom are incomplete—but we have the will and the opportunity. In the name of America's workers whose watchwords are justice, freedom and humanity, we plead that Russia's workers and masses shall maintain what you have already achieved and to practically and rationally solve the problems of today and to safeguard the future from the reactionary forces who would gladly take advantage of your lack of unity to re-establish the old regime of royalty reaction, tyranny and injustice. Our best wishes are with Russia in her new opportunity.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 23, 1917*

NSTCHEIDGE,
Petrograd.

Executive Council, A. F. of L., in regular session here as representatives of the labor movement of America, send fraternal greetings to you and through you to all who have aided in establishing liberty in Russia. We know that liberty means opportunity for the masses,

especially the workers. The best thought, hopes and support of America's workers are with your efforts to form a government that shall insure the perpetuity of freedom and protect your rights and new found liberty against the insidious forces and agents of reaction and despotism. May we not urge you to build practically and constructively. Our heartfelt sympathy is with you in the great opportunity and work that lies before you.

SAMUEL GOMPERS
JAMES DUNCAN
JAMES O'CONNELL
JOS. F. VALENTINE
JOHN R. ALPINE
H. B. PERHAM
FRANK DUFFY
WILLIAM GREEN
W. D. MAHON
JOHN B. LENNON
FRANK MORRISON

But freedom can not be easily acquired. The Russian people have had no experience in the methods or the principles of self-government. When the autocratic government was removed and they were feeling their way toward the establishment of their own government they were well nigh helpless against the intrigue and manipulation of more astute minds who sought to gain control in furtherance of sinister purposes or to establish ill-advised methods. Because of the experience which we of the United States have had in our efforts to establish self-government, and because we have been able to find out principles and ways only through experiences that have cost us dearly, it was the desire of all citizens that whatever of wisdom we possessed might be put at the service of the Russian people in their very difficult and important work. President Gompers endeavored to render that service in the following cablegram:

WASHINGTON, May 6, 1917

WORKMEN'S AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL OF DEPUTIES, Petrograd, Russia.

The gravest crisis in the world's history is now hanging in the balance, and the course which Russia will pursue may have a determining influence whether democracy or autocracy shall prevail. That democracy and freedom will finally prevail there can be no doubt in the minds of men who know, but the cost, the time lost and the sacrifices which would ensue from lack of united action may be appalling. It is to avoid this that I address you.

In view of the grave crisis through which the Russian people are passing we assure you that you can rely absolutely upon the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the American people in the great war against our common enemy, Kaiserism. In the fulfillment of that cause the present American government has the support of 99 per cent. of the American people, including the working class of both the cities and the agricultural sections.

In free America, as in free Russia, the agitators for a peace favorable to Prussian militarism have been allowed to express their opinions so that the conscious and unconscious tools of the Kaiser appear more influential than they really are. You should realize the truth of the situation. There are but few in America willing to allow Kaiserism and its allies to continue their rule over those non-German peoples who wish to be free from their domination. Should we not protest against

the pro-Kaiser Socialist interpretation of the demand for no annexation, namely, that all oppressed non-German peoples shall be compelled to remain under the domination of Prussia and her lackeys—Austria and Turkey? Should we not rather accept the better interpretation that there must be no forcible annexations, but that every people must be free to choose any allegiance it desires, as demanded by the Council of Worker's and Soldiers' Deputies?

Like yourselves, we are opposed to all punitive and improper indemnities. We denounce the onerous punitive indemnities already imposed by the Kaiser upon the people of Serbia, Belgium and Poland.

America's workers share the view of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies that the only way in which the German people can bring the war to an early end is by imitating the glorious example of the Russian people, compelling the abdication of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, and driving the tyrannous nobility, bureaucracy and the military castes from power.

Let the German Socialists attend to this, and cease their false pretenses and underground plotting to bring about an abortive peace in the interest of Kaiserism and the ruling class. Let them cease calling pretended "international" conferences at the instigation or connivance of the Kaiser. Let them cease their intrigues to cajole the Russian and American working people to interpret your demand, "No annexations, no indemnities," in a way to leave undiminished the prestige and the power of the German military caste.

Now that Russian autocracy is overthrown, neither the American government nor the American people apprehend that the wisdom and experience of Russia in the coming constitutional assembly will adopt any form of government other than the one best suited to your needs. We feel confident that no message, no individual emissary and no commission has been sent, or will be sent, with authority to offer any advice whatever to Russia as to the conduct of her internal affairs. Any commission that may be sent will help Russia in any way that she desires to combat Kaiserism wherever it exists or may manifest itself.

Word has reached us that false reports of an American purpose and of American opinions contrary to the above statement have gained some circulation in Russia. We denounce these reports as the criminal work of desperate pro-Kaiser propagandists, circulated with the intent to deceive and to arouse hostile feelings between the two great democracies of the world. The Russian people should know that these activities are only additional manifestations of the "dark forces" with which Russia has been only too familiar in the unhappy past.

The American government, the American people, the American labor movement are whole-heartedly with the Russian workers, the Russian masses in the great effort to maintain the freedom you have already achieved and to solve the grave problems yet before you. We earnestly appeal to you to make common cause with us to abolish and maintain for generations yet unborn the priceless treasures of justice, freedom, democracy and humanity.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President*.

During the early spring our government thought that it might be helpful to the people of Russia who were seeking to learn the lesson of democracy, to have the benefit of the counsel of a few Americans who might put at the dis-

posal of the Russian people the result of the experiences of our Republic since 1776. Among those appointed to constitute the American Commission to Russia was the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, James Duncan, President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America. When Mr. Duncan left for Russia he was given the following credential from the American labor movement:

May 14, 1917

To the Workers—the People of Russia, Greeting:

This is to certify that the bearer, Mr. James Duncan, is First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the International Granite Cutters' Association of America.

Mr. Duncan has been selected as the representative of the labor movement of America. He is authorized to represent the American Federation of Labor in any conference of workers, whether of Russia alone or in a conference of representatives of the workers of the allied countries now at war with the Imperial Government of Germany. Mr. Duncan is also selected by the government of the democratic Republic of the United States of America to bear the message of greeting, good will and fraternity of the American people as a whole to the workers and all the people of Russia.

All the workers—all the people of the allied countries—must stand united in the struggle for the dethronement of Kaiserism with all that it typifies and for all time, so that the peoples of all countries may live their own lives, work out their own problems, and determine their own destinies under the benign influences of labor, justice, freedom, democracy and humanity.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

(By authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.)

During Mr. Duncan's stay in Russia on the special diplomatic mission to the Russian people the following cablegrams were exchanged between him and President Gompers:

WASHINGTON, June 13, 1917

JAMES DUNCAN,

On Special Diplomatic Mission of the United States of America,
Petrograd, Russia.

Cablegrams from Petrograd published in American newspapers of June 11 contain information that a conference has been called at Petrograd to consider advisability of calling a congress of socialistic bodies and federations of trade unions of the world. The credential issued to you by Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, authorizes you to participate in such conference, and if invited, you are advised to accept and participate. The American Federation of Labor is the most democratically organized and controlled labor movement in the world, and of course you will insist upon acceptance of fundamental principles of democracy for every country; also the necessity for all the peoples of each country, large and small, to live their own lives and work out their own destiny. The cause for which America entered the war was to safeguard these principles, and much as we desire peace, no false notions should prevail. The world can not longer endure half autocracy and half democracy; either the one or the other will prevail and American labor is in the fight for the destruction of autocracy and for the victorious universal establishment and maintenance of democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1917*JAMES DUNCAN,
Petrograd.

Permit me to express my great appreciation of the splendid address you made before Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies. It was a true message to the democratic people of Russia from the American Federation of Labor which represents the democratic sentiment of the people of the United States standing behind President Wilson. May every success attend the struggle which the democracy of Russia and the democracy of the world are now so potentially making for the freedom of the world.

GOMPERS

 PETROGRAD.
Dated July 7, 1917,
Recd. 12th, 3.55 p. m.
SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.,
1480 Seyenth.

For Samuel Gompers. "Message received. All well. I endorse council's action against Stockholm conference. Understand Legien trying arrange trade union conference in Switzerland which appears to be further intrigue of a mad and desperate Kaiser, consequently inopportune. Since successfully addressing all Russia, Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies have held several conferences with representatives of Cossacks who promptly responded to my recommendations. Held numerous conferences with union officials. Addressed and fraternized with general trade union convention, 400 delegates, Petrograd, Friday. We leave for home Monday, July 9. Whole mission perturbed at not receiving any mail from America, arrangements for which very bad and not due or attributable to Russia, as up to Friday pouches had not left Stockholm and would not reach Petrograd until after we are gone. Situation clearing here. Officials giving good service and have support of people. Responsibilities were great but being solved surprisingly well and fast as circumstances permit. People are confident, lovable, patient but persistent, freedom so reflected in every face they scarcely know what to do with it, but parading and cheering will subside into solid responsible government in due time. Duncan." Root.

FRANCIS

 PETROGRAD
Undated
Recd. July 10, 1917, 8.15 a. m.
SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D. C.,
Attention Long.

For Samuel Gompers: "Have just returned from Moscow and received your message. Yes, Mr. Root's statement to Russian cabinet was expression of entire mission. Have had many interesting meetings and conferences in Petrograd and in Moscow. Participated in meeting of Moscow Duma, several labor meetings and headquarters co-operative association, including its central bank. At three meetings of workmen's

and soldiers' representatives I made addresses and was most enthusiastically received. Workmen's replies were constructive and inspiring. Have attended many meetings in Petrograd and arrangements are made for my address to the general meeting of workmen's and soldiers' delegates. Will report on same later. Great ovations given us at Vladivostok and all principal stations through Siberia. Workmen and others came to stations to greet us and we addressed them on station platforms and from train steps. We also made impressive visit at Harbin, Manchuria, but Siberians were most enthusiastic. Petrograd pessimistic, Moscow less so, but Cossacks and other militant soldiers are eager for activity. Nowhere is there sentiment for individual peace excepting among certain extremists and the German propagandists. Everywhere and by everyone it is declared that autocracy in Russia is gone forever, so while military activities seem dilatory, it is encouraging and inspiring to know that Russian democracy is safe and that therefore economic organizations will proceed in accordance with opportunity and the natural development of the new freedom. Liberty came upon New Russia similar to a bolt from the heavens and it took the new citizenship some time to realize they were free, but the healthy general mind will now develop into a concentrated, constructive and representative government which will give the Russian intellect and resources the needed chance to be a most valuable annexation to the roster of real democracies. They may make mistakes for they are human, and are feeling their way towards practical and expressive democratic authority, but in each move something better will evolve and which with due care will point the way to a new and necessarily better time and to the organization of a great republic. I am well and have stood the strain of travel and official duty very well. The possibilities of the future are so many, so important, so inspiring one is thereby and for the good one can do, much encouraged to perform one's part in the world-wide transformation from the evils of autocracy to the benign influences of representative government, and so the work I am performing strongly appeals to me. Duncan."

Roor.

Berne Conference.

This conference was proposed to the American labor movement in the following correspondence:

SCHWEIZ GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND—UNION SUISSE DES
FEDERATIONS SYNDICALES.

Seckretariat: Kapellenstrasse 6, Bern

BERN, the 28th of March, 1917

TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, Washington.

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS: With the greatest interest we have taken notice of your letter and report of the 21st of December, 1916, and we regret sincerely that it was not possible to answer it sooner. But we wanted first to watch the development of events to be able subsequently to submit to you some practical propositions.

From the tenor of your communication we see with great satisfaction that there is no difference between us on the question of principle; that you, like ourselves, have the interest of the working classes of the whole world at heart and that it is your ardent wish, as well as our own, to resume international relations in any workable form.

It seems to us that the favorable moment for this has now arrived. In compliance with a wish of our French comrades we take therefore the initiative for an international conference, the aim and program of which you may gather from the enclosed circular letter. Please examine it and let us have an early answer, which will, as we fervently hope, be in the affirmative.

On making the definite convocation of the conference, we shall, of course, take due regard to the ways and means of the traveling of your delegates. Without the adherence of at least the great national central organizations we should be obliged to give up the undertaking, as in that case the conference would miss its aim.

With fraternal greetings,

FOR THE SCHWEIZERISCHEN GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND:

The Secretary,
KARL DURR

The President,
O. SCHUNBERGER.

SCHWEIZ GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND—UNION SUISSE DES
FEDERATIONS SYNDICALES.

Seckretariat: Kapellenstrasse 6, Bern

BERN, *the 28th of March, 1917*

TO THE NATIONAL CENTERS OF TRADE UNIONS OF AMERICA, ENGLAND,
FRANCE, ITALY, SPAIN AND BELGIUM.

DEAR COMRADES: When the present war began, hardly anybody would have reckoned with its long duration, which, alas, has become a deplorable fact. This is the chief reason why the International Federation of Trade Unions (Internationaler Gewerkschaftsbund—I. G. B.) was no longer able to exercise the functions with which it was entrusted, let alone the predominance of purely national tendencies in the belligerent countries, which helped in a very high degree to create misgivings and misunderstandings.

Again, the attempts made by some representatives of the countries of the entente through the intervention of America in the year 1915, to revive the I. G. B. by the removal of its headquarters to a neutral country remained without result; firstly, because such a removal could in conformity with the rules of the I. G. B. only be decided on by a conference comprising delegates of nearly all affiliated organizations, and the convocation of such a conference met with serious opposition, and then because it was very difficult under existing circumstances, especially with the imperfect knowledge of the dispositions and currents of opinion in the different countries to form a clear idea of the future activity of the International Secretariat.

A later proposition of America, to hold an International Trade Unions' Conference for the pronouncement of the workers' demands at the same time and place as the General Peace Congress shall be held at the end of the war, was not found expedient either by the trade unions of the countries of the entente, of the central powers or by those of the neutral countries. Such a proposal could only have a practical result if it were possible to work out a joint program preliminary to the international conference, and if there were any probability of the claims of the workers finding serious consideration by the Peace Congress.

A first step in this direction was made by the Leeds Conference in July, 1916. There a regular peace program was worked out which

afterwards was submitted to all national centers, affiliated to the I. G. B. for discussion.

In conjunction with this program, which was duly appreciated by the trade unions of the neutral countries, as well as of those of the central powers, and in view of the fact that the Leeds Conference had decided to establish a Bureau of Correspondence at Paris, the President of the I. G. B. undertook the proposal of a conference to take place at Bern on the 11th of December, 1916. The idea was, however, relinquished a few weeks before that time. Though a considerable number of organizations had promised to appear and all were unanimous that the discussion of the Leeds program was of the utmost importance, the time seemed too short for the necessary preliminary preparations. Moreover, it was very doubtful whether the trade unions of the countries of the entente would follow the invitation.

The Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund would gladly do everything in its power to make the I. G. B. again efficient and capable of action. We were always of opinion, that across all national and political barriers and in spite of all hindrances and opposition the common work in the interest of the workers of the whole world must not be neglected. Besides, we value the moral effect of the capability of action of the organized workers in the trades unions not slightly. It would surely contribute very much to a reconciliation of the nations.

With great pleasure we followed, therefore, the invitation to the conference general of the French trade unions held at Christmas, 1916, to get into personal contact with our French comrades. Our expectations were not disappointed. Our delegate was able to bring us the satisfactory report, that the French trade unions will adhere to the I. G. B. in future alike as in the past, and that they would be inclined to take part in a conference convened by the Schweizerische Gewerkschaftsbund.

Our leading committee thereupon unanimously resolved to follow the suggestion of our French comrades.

Our task is no light one, as it lies beyond the rules of the I. G. B. First of all we must make sure, that our proceedings will meet with the approval of all the members of the I. G. B. From personal information we know that Italy and Spain would be represented at such a conference (Italy has already in September, 1916, proposed a conference, convened by our Gewerkschaftsbund), Austria, Hungary, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have declared that they would follow our invitation. Under these circumstances the meeting of our conference would solely depend on the consent of America, England and France, as the smaller countries would doubtless follow suit.

We have already mentioned that the chief business would be the peace proposals of the Leeds conference. We leave it to the national centers to give notice of further proposals. A few suggestions made to us we submit to you at once.

Decision about the domicile of the I. G. B.

Continuation of the International Trade Union Correspondence.

In view of the importance of the peace proposals, it is suggested to suspend the rule according to which each country has the right to send two delegates only and to allow each country a larger number of delegates up to ten instead. This modus is recommendable, because it would make it possible to send among the delegates experts of the chief industries. In voting, however, every country should have one vote only as hitherto.

As to the English delegation, we think it most advisable to invite

not only the General Federation of Trade Unions, but also the Trade Unions Congress, *i. e.*, its parliamentary committee, representing as it does, the greater part of the English trade unions.

At first we had the intention to convene the conference to Bern in the month of June, but a closer examination of the circumstances, especially with due regard to the disturbed postal communications, leaves very little hope that we can adhere to this date, all the less, as sufficient time should be given to the national centers to discuss proposals and decide on them preliminary to the conference.

We earnestly beg to commend our proposal to your very best consideration and shall thank you for the early communication of your decision, which we trust will be in the sense of your concurrence.

If you could send at the same time your own proposals for the conference, it would greatly further our proceedings.

With fraternal greetings,

FOR THE SCHWEIZERISCHEN GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND:

Secretary,

KARL DURR

The President,

O. SCHUNBERGER.

This communication from Karl Durr refers to the recommendations of the Leeds conference which was held in England and was composed of representatives of the workers of the allied nations.

CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL,
33, Rue De La Grange-Aux-Belles, Paris

PARIS, *le 4 Juin, 1917*

COMRADE: At its last session, June 3, the Confederal Committee, after examining the propositions which had been made to it for the holding of an internationale syndicale—Switzerland conference at Berne; Holland conference at Stockholm—decided in favor of the proposition for Switzerland.

It decided also that before the holding of this conference there should be held a meeting of the central organizations of the entente countries. This meeting could be held several days before the second, and in order to avoid extra expenses, in the same city.

The committee feels assured that, in these conditions, the question of the transference of the internationale syndicale secretariat to a neutral country being the first in order in the program, you will agree to participate in the conference.

I await your reply on this point, certain that it will be the same as ours.

In this hope, accept my fraternal salute.

JOUHAUX

CABLEGRAM.

LONDON

AFEL, Washn.

Representatives back from France still opposed to conference at Berne. Matter will be decided this week at annual conference. Please await written report. Just addressed Canadian soldiers at Crowborough Kent. They unanimously send you their regards and express their pleasure at landing of American troops in France. Delighted at opportunity of lining up with your boys.

APPLETON, Jul. 2, '17, 5.10 p. m.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH ST.

LONDON, W. C., 13th July, 1917

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President of the American Federation of Labor,

Federation Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND GOMPERS: Enclosed find a copy of the report which the delegation to France made to the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions. The Management Committee referred this to the annual general council which was held in Gloucester on the 5th and 6th of July and recommended that we did not attend the Berne conference, but that we assist in the arrangement of a conference of the representatives of allied trade unions affiliated to the International Secretariat, such conference to be held on a date prior to the date fixed for the Berne conference.

The council with practical unanimity adopted the recommendation, only five delegates voting against it. After the conference I took the opportunity to confer with the French and they were exceedingly anxious to secure the attendance of American delegates. Mainly because of this anxiety, it was decided to arrange that this conference of the allied nations should take place in London on September 10th. We are all sincerely anxious that America should be represented at this gathering and we trust to have the favorable answer of the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible moment.

I am exceedingly anxious to hear from you because there has been reported in the English papers a short account of the attack made upon you by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt. This account is not very clear and I should be glad to explain to our own people exactly what the situation is.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. APPLETON.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
HAMILTON HOUSE, BIDBOROUGH ST.

LONDON, W. C., 29 June, 1917

DELEGATION TO FRANCE.

Report to the Management Committee

The visit of the delegates of the General Federation of Trade Unions to Paris was determined upon in consequence of communications received from various sections of the international trade union movement.

The Americans more than a year ago suggested international conferences of workers to determine the conditions of peace. The General Federation of Trade Unions regarded this as impracticable and we refused any conference with Germans while the German Army occupied Belgium and Northern France. The idea of a conference, however, continued to be advocated and on March 28th the Swiss brought forward a proposal for a conference in Switzerland. Britain declined the invitation and there was no meeting. Then Stockholm was attempted and the following enemy and neutral powers met there on June 8th: Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria.

This conference could not, even from the German point of view be regarded as satisfactory; therefore, Oudegeest for Holland and Lindquist for Sweden sent telegrams of invitation to further meetings. It was felt that these telegrams were instigated by Karl Legien, Secre-

tary of the General Kommission, and the Management Committee, while definitely declining the one from Oudegeest, decided to consult the French trade unionists before sending a definite refusal to the request advanced by Lindquist. In the meantime the Swiss proposal for a conference had been revived and the French had accepted the invitation to meet the representatives of all the nations affiliated to the International Secretariat on September 17, at Berne.

It was inadvisable to deal with this matter by correspondence and so the delegation from the General Federation went to Paris to ascertain reasons for the French acceptance of the Swiss invitation and to promote, if possible, a change of attitude.

The officials of the *Confédération du Travail* have been consulted separately and together, and while it is not difficult to ascertain reasons for their willingness to go to Berne, it will be very difficult to persuade them to retract their acceptance of the invitation.

They make no secret of their war weariness or of their loss of faith in their military and political leaders. The utter failure of their last offensive and their administrative mistakes have disheartened them.

The committee of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* which at Christmas possessed a decent majority in favor of resolutely prosecuting the war, is now about evenly divided. Strikes and demonstrations have contributed to this state of things and there was evidence to prove that these strikes were approved and supported by the minority of the committee, some of whom ignore the censor and even use the machinery of the *Bourse du Travail* (a government department) for the dissemination of literature and the spreading of discontent.

The committee of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* was unable to retract its acceptance of the invitation, but as the result of our conversations was prepared to oppose the discussion of peace terms at Berne and to confine itself to discussing the neutralization of the personnel and location of the International Secretariat (the present headquarters are in Berlin) and an economic programme based upon the resolutions adopted at Leeds in July, 1916. We explained that the application of an economic programme involved political action and that any discussion would open up the whole series of questions arising between belligerent and neutral nations. We argued that controversy would be acrimonious and the voting uncertain and that under the constitution of the internationale the probabilities of passing resolutions lay with the central powers.

The constitution gives one vote per nation with a reference under certain circumstances to a vote on a membership basis. The central powers would be likely to secure the votes of Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria.

The French argue that France, Britain, America, Italy, Spain, Serbia and Rumania would vote with the entente powers and they consider that Australia and Canada should demand separate national representation and votes. This they contended would give a majority if the vote was by nations. We expressed our anxiety to secure Australia and Canada representation, but pointed out that in such circumstances Germany would claim for Bavaria and Saxony. We pointed out also that an appeal to the proportional vote after a defeat on the national vote would have a moral effect which the Germans would exploit.

The Committee of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* appeared to be badly shaken and to doubt their own wisdom in accepting the Swiss invitation and they appealed to us to waive our objections and help them out of a delicate and difficult situation. They argued that

we could control "Ordre du Jour" and resist the introduction of dangerous matter.

That is not our opinion. We know something of the political sagacity of Karl Legien and Hewber, the Austrian, and we know the composition of the Committee of the Confederation Generale du Travail. This committee would not be able to elect all its delegates to Berne from the majority and no considerations of honor or wisdom would deter the minority from securing the notoriety which would follow declarations in favor of Germany.

We declined to give any undertaking to attend the Berne conference, but agreed to lay the whole business before our full Management Committee when it meets on Wednesday next in Gloucester.

JAMES O'GRADY
ALFRED SHORT
W. A. APPLETON

The following communications were received from the labor movements of the various countries relative to the Berne conference:

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
(I. F. T. U.).

To the Trades Union National Centers:

DEAR COMRADES: The enclosed circular of the "Provisional Correspondence Center" in Paris, signed by Jouhaux, was received by the General Commission of the German Trade Unions in the latter part of autumn, 1916. The circular has not been sent to the Secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions. But the General Commission of the German Trade Unions, having no connection with the said Paris Correspondence Center, handed over the circular to the Secretariat of the I. F. T. U. for information. The latter, however, could not enter into an examination of the material contents of the circular until it had been called upon to do so by one of the organizations affiliated to the I. F. T. U. This has by now been the case. At a conference of the representatives of the Scandinavian Trade Union National Centers, held at Copenhagen on November 10 and 11, 1916, at which also a representative of the Secretariat took part, the latter was given the minutes of a conference of the Scandinavian National Centers which had been held at Stockholm on October 21 and 22, 1916. These minutes contain also a resolution according to which the Scandinavian comrades approved in principle the labor demands in connection with the coming peace, as mentioned in the said circular, but they thought that the final formulation of those demands must be reserved to an international conference, to which the whole matter, owing to its importance, should be submitted by the Secretariat of the I. F. T. U. The conference, held at Copenhagen in November, 1916, addressed a direct appeal to the Secretariat to postpone the proposed Berne International Conference, which was to take place on December 11, to a later date. This postponed conference, when later on convened, should also discuss the demands of organized labor to be put forward at the coming peace.

The undersigned President of the I. F. T. U. hereby accedes to the demand of the Scandinavian National Centers to arrange for a discussion of the Leeds resolutions of some of the trade union leaders of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy, which were circulated by the Paris Correspondence Center.

The Leeds program asks in principle for a minimum of securities

concerning the right of coalition, social insurance, hours of labor, hygiene and protection of workmen. To this declaration of principles we subscribe unreservedly. Likewise there can be no objection to the demands put forward (sub 1) concerning the equality of immigrant workers with the native ones in the question of the right of coalition; they correspond, moreover, with the principles which were accepted by our international conferences (Christiania, 1907; Paris, 1909; Budapest, 1911) against trade unions of various countries who rendered it difficult or even impossible for alien workmen to join them. It can not but be pleasant to hear that the representatives of the British trade unions defended in so decided a manner the right of coalition of the alien workmen.

The principle put at the head of the Leeds program that every workman without distinction of nationality has the right to work wherever he finds employment, is, however, from the wording and the place given to it, liable to some misunderstanding. Even if it is later on said that the alien workman has the right to all the terms fixed by agreement in the locality of his employment, its desired object has not been brought out, with sufficient clearness. Already the Christiania Conference, 1907, recorded its agreement with the resolutions of the International Socialist and Labor Congress of the same year. These resolutions declare that it is the bounden duty of the organized workmen to prevent the importation and exportation of strikebreakers, and they demand the prohibition of the exportation and importation of contract workmen who by virtue of the contract can not freely dispose of their labor and their wages. The Christiania conference entrusted the Secretariat with the carrying out of these resolutions and it thus forms one of the duties of the I. F. T. U. The Budapest Conference of 1911, by passing the motion of the American Federation of Labor, supplemented the duty of the labor movement of all countries by the provision that in times of industrial depression all efforts should be made to prevent migrations of workmen from one country to another. The war can not be said to have changed the conditions which had led to those resolutions.

Therefore, the principle that it is the right of any workman to work wherever and whenever he likes can not be agreed to in the wording given to it at Leeds. Moreover, the other resolutions carried at Leeds are running counter to that principle. For, according to them, there should be instituted an interstate organization for the control of immigration and emigration, which should only permit immigration under certain conditions. A new formulation of that demand appears therefore necessary.

Instead of the right to work, which under capitalist conditions is indeed, a very problematical right, we have always preferred to confine ourselves to a clear definition of the principle of freedom of movement. Starting from the right of the individual to freedom of movement within the national and international boundaries, we should in the first place ask in the peace treaty for guarantees against the prohibition of emigration which has often been planned by the governing classes in their own interest against the workmen. Unless the principle of the inadmissibility of prohibiting emigration is recognized, all provision for the protection of the freedom of movement in the immigration countries are rendered delusive.

The right of emigration having been recognized, it is matter of course that all *ad hoc* suppressions of immigration must be rejected. On the other hand, it has always been the concern of the international

labor movement that immigration should not lead to a lowering of the standard of life of the working classes of the immigration country by the import of masses of unorganized workmen, with a low standard of life, from predominantly agrarian and backward countries. We adhere therefore to the principle agreed to at Stuttgart (1907) and reaffirmed by the above-mentioned International Trade Union Conferences that the recruiting of contract labor in foreign countries should be prohibited. Nowhere, except perhaps in Denmark, is trade union organization powerful enough to execute the demand of the Leeds Conference that the recruiting of labor should proceed on the basis of wage and work conditions fixed by agreement in the immigration country. Also the lack of unity among the labor organizations in several countries stands in the way of such a procedure. The regulation of the recruiting of workmen on the basis recommended by the Leeds Conference presupposes, however, a united trade union movement embracing the great majority of the native workmen. As long as that prerequisite is not fulfilled it is useless to put forward demands in connection with the peace treaty, which even in case of their being carried out can not rebound to the benefit of the workmen, since they are not sufficiently organized for that purpose.

The Leeds demand appears to us impracticable from still another reason. It does not sufficiently consider the class antagonism of capital and labor which, after the war, will not be long in making itself felt in the life of nations.

The Leeds program, in instituting joint-committees of representatives of governments, employers, and workers, who should decide in the various countries on the necessity of recruiting foreign labor, evidently presupposes that the class struggle between the employers and the employed will be postponed. If, however, it revives in its old form the workmen must be very careful not to overestimate the influence which they will be able to wield in such committees. On the question regarding the necessity of recruiting foreign labor, the employers will, in most cases, allow themselves to differ from the opinions of the workmen so that the decision will finally lie with the representatives of the government. Also the conditions vary greatly in various countries. In small countries with less complicated economic conditions it is possible to observe and to estimate to a sufficient degree, from one center, the whole movement of the labor market; but it is, to say the least, questionable whether in large industrial countries it would be possible to do so in such a manner that the interest of labor could be satisfactorily safeguarded. From all these reasons we should hesitate to entrust such a fulness of power to committees on whose decisions the workmen could only have a relatively small influence.

Quite impossible appears to us the Leeds program with regard to colored labor. The British workman, shortly after the Leeds Conference, strongly protested against the importation of colored labor to Great Britain, although the British labor market shows a considerable shortage of workmen. This only proves that that demand has not been sufficiently thought out. It is being demanded that the recruiting of colored labor should proceed under the same conditions and under the same guarantees as that of the European workmen. That can only refer to the country of immigration; for, who should control and guarantee in the country of emigration? The Zulus and the Cingalese know no more of trade union organization than the Chinese coolies do. It is not likely that an agreement will be come to on this point with the American trade unions who up to the present have been harassed most by the immigration of colored labor.

On the other hand, we approve the demand that the labor market statistics should be developed in all countries on the basis of the organized labor exchanges so that, through the intermediary of a central office, the organized workmen in the emigration countries might get a clear view of the labor conditions in other countries. It will then be a matter for the labor organizations to arrive at a mutual understanding as to the possibility and usefulness of emigration and immigration, wages, industrial conflicts, etc. This rather indirect influence will be greater than the direct one of the committees proposed by the Leeds program, and it will increase in the same proportion as the trade organizations in all countries succeed in rallying the workmen round the banner of unionism.

We are for maintaining our present trade unionist principles with regard to freedom of movement. We demand the prohibition of alien contract labor and the development and the regular mutual exchange of labor market statistics of the various countries on the basis of the organized employment offices and labor exchanges. We can not abandon the right of the various countries to restrict, during periods of industrial depression, the immigration of alien workmen, which the Budapest resolution pledges us to defend with all the power at our command.

The affirmation, in principle, of the right of the immigrant workers to the rate of wages and conditions of work fixed by agreement or trade custom of the native workers, is for us as much a matter of course as the duty to rally the immigrant workmen to the trade union organizations of the immigration country.

The Leeds proposal to bind the employers of colored workmen to arrange for the latter regular courses of instruction for the purpose of teaching them to speak, read and write the language of the country in which they are employed, we desire to extend all alien workmen, without distinction of nationality or color. Likewise, the immigration country must have the right to demand from the immigrant at least some knowledge of reading and writing in his own language. This demand must be raised in the interest of labor protection, if not for general cultural reasons. The posting up of the labor protection regulations in the workshops is quite useless if the workman is illiterate. His ignorance of the protective regulations is, however, not only a danger to himself, but to his fellow-workers who might have to pay with limb and life for the carelessness of a single individual. These regulations must therefore be posted up not only in the language of the country of the business, but also in that of the immigrant worker.

We concur, in general, with the tendency of the Leeds demand concerning social insurance, but we believe another formulation to be necessary. At the head we would put the duty of all countries to organize, within the shortest possible time, the insurance against sickness, accidents, disablement, old age, and unemployment. Then the legal principle should be proclaimed that with regard to the whole labor legislation the immigrant worker should be put on a footing of equality with the native workman and should have the same rights and obligations. At out-of-door and transport work the laws of the country obtain in which the head offices of the business are situated. The exemption of the insurance documents from taxes and dues is recognized. On the other hand, the principle of payment of pensions and compensations outside the country and the recognition of trade diseases as labor accidents can not, in the formulation given to it in the Leeds program be agreed to, since the systems of insurance of the

various countries vary too much from one another. The claim to regard trade diseases as labor accidents can not well be established in the peace treaty. The charge on accident insurance at the carrying out of this principle would depend on the state of the national health and the labor legislation in each particular country. These two factors are, however, essentially influenced by the existing insurance systems according as to their putting into the foreground either prevention of sickness, accidents and disablement or mere payment of benefit.

Because of the lack of uniformity in the insurance systems it is impossible to carry out the demand in the form which the Leeds program has given to it. We must limit ourselves to proclaiming the principle of reciprocity which should later on, by virtue of special treaties, be carried into effect by the various states. This concerns the payment of benefit and the classification of trade diseases as labor accidents with respect to the same claims to benefit. It is the duty of the workmen's organizations in the various countries to advocate that principle; its recognition will render it easier to arrive, by treaty, at the desired settlement of the claims of the migrating workmen. But a peace treaty is not the proper instrument to effect a reform which depends essentially on the nature of the insurance systems of the various countries.

The unemployment insurance can not be continued for workmen who left for another country. Only a certain contribution to the traveling expenses can be granted, but even this should not be settled in the peace treaty, because it might easily be turned into an authorized international formula for the expulsion of unemployed aliens, even should they have spent a great part of their life in the country in question.

The first three paragraphs in section "Limitation of Hours of Labor" in the Leeds program can not be completely accepted. The fixing of the age limit of 14 years for the admittance of children to industrial work as well as for the discharge from school would be a worsening of the conditions of those countries where school attendance is compulsory up to the age of 15 years. Even the non-socialist Labor Protection Congress held at Zurich in 1907 and attended by all sorts of social reformers demanded the protective age of children to be raised to 15 years, likewise the extension of compulsory school attendance to the completion of 15 years of age. In some of the belligerent countries, to judge from the number of their illiterates, the scholastic conditions appear to be so primitive that this question is more of a political nature and therefore does not properly come within the sphere of trade union action. We should therefore prefer to demand a minimum age of 15 years for the admittance of children to wage work, without consideration of the age of leaving school.

The demand for an unconditional prohibition of work of women and juveniles in continuous factories can not be agreed to. Not all continuous establishments are unhealthy. It would also be impossible to establish, by peace treaty, a half-holiday on Saturdays, for the regulation of rest days must be left to the various countries and their trade unions. We can only demand a complete rest of thirty-six hours between Saturday and Monday morning, and in case technical reasons are against it, to put it off to week-days. A forty-four hours' week with stoppage of work on Saturday noon should be fixed for women.

For the rest, the Leeds demands do not go far enough. They remain partly far behind that which organized labor has demanded for decades with regard to labor protection. Even in full appreciation

of the intention of the Leeds Conference to be practical and to raise only such demands which may have some prospects of realization through the instrumentality of a peace treaty, we can not forego the duty of asking an extension of some demands of the Leeds program. Also with such an extension there is surely a possibility of its being realized. Most of the demands put forward in the enclosed program are accomplished facts in various countries. One country has more of children protection, another has a comprehensive code for regulating female work, again in other countries social insurance has been largely developed. The main object of our action must be to carry into effect, on an international basis, certain elementary demands on which clear views prevail already in wide circles of opinion. This is the means for paving the way, in the various countries, for the further development of labor legislation and the speeding up of social reform action. We must remove the obstacles which socially backward countries are putting in the way of socially advanced countries. It was this point of view which guided us while drafting our program. In the latter the demands have a different arrangement from those which were settled at the Leeds deliberations. We have given less weight to the special questions of particular trades than to the elaboration of a general outline.

We submit our program to the consideration of the trade unions of all countries. Its final draft will probably be settled at an international labor conference which should be convoked at the earliest possible date.

With fraternal greetings,

C. LEGIEN

President of the International Federation of Trade Unions

PEACE DEMANDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The devastating effects of the war render it more than ever necessary to promote in an efficient manner the protection of Labor in all countries in order to restore and reinvigorate the energies of the people and to render the future of the nations more secure than ever. Experience has taught us that, in the years before the war, the social reform work of the more advanced countries was impeded by the backwardness of social legislation and institutions of other countries. The representatives of capital and industry in the former countries raised opposition to new social reform demands by pointing out that they were laboring under a disadvantage in their competition on the world's markets through the backwardness of other countries which had not the same social reform burdens to bear. That objection and opposition caused the European governments to take common action in some—unfortunately in few—questions of labor protection. From the above mentioned grounds it is imperatively necessary to accelerate the development of international protection of labor.

The Peace Treaty which, earlier or later, will terminate the war, appears to offer a proper occasion and point of departure for an effective co-operation of all nations in the domain of social reform. The International Labor Federation as representative of eight millions of trade unionists of all countries takes therefore the liberty to ask the Governments of the belligerent countries to ensure to the working classes, in the Peace Treaty, a minimum of protection and rights which all countries should be bound to carry into effect. The Peace Treaty

should include provisions for securing to the working classes freedom of movement, right of combination and the carrying out of labor protection measures on the following lines:

I. Freedom of Movement

- (a) The enactment of laws prohibiting emigration is inadmissible.
- (b) The enactment of laws generally prohibiting immigration is inadmissible.

This provision does not affect:

(1) The right of every State to take measures, in times of commercial depression, for temporarily limiting immigration in order to protect the native and migratory foreign workers.

(2) The right of every State to control immigration for the purpose of protecting the health of its citizens, and even temporarily to prohibit immigration in case any danger of the spread of infectious diseases exists.

(3) The right of every State to demand from the immigrant a certain minimum knowledge of reading and writing in its language for the purpose of protection of its national culture and of effective execution of its labor legislation in industrial establishments in which foreign labor is mostly employed.

(c) The Contracting Powers pledge themselves to enact at the earliest opportunity, laws and regulations prohibiting the recruiting of contract labor and the activity of professional agents for the same purpose.

(d) The Contracting Powers pledge themselves to develop the statistics of the labor market on the basis of the State-regulated employment offices and mutually to exchange, in short intervals, the statistical information through the intermediary of an international center, in order to protect the workers from migrating into countries with slender opportunities for employment.

II. Right of Combination

(a) To grant to the workers of all countries the right of combination. Immigrant workers enjoy the same rights as the native workers in respect of participation and activity in trade union organization, including the right to strike.

(b) Laws and regulations (Master and Servant Acts, anticom-bination laws, etc.) which place agricultural laborers or domestic servants in a disadvantageous position as compared with other labor categories, or withhold from them the right of combination and of defence of their economic interests, are to be abolished.

(c) Attempts at obstructing or preventing workmen organizing themselves, are liable to prosecution.

(d) The alien workman has the right to claim the rate of wages and conditions of work which have been agreed upon by the trade union with the employers. Failing such agreements, the alien worker is to receive the rate of wage customary in the locality and in the trade.

III. Social Insurance

(a) Countries which have not yet enacted insurance laws concerning sickness, accidents, disablement, old-age and unemployment, are in duty bound to enact them within the shortest possible time.

(b) The immigrant workmen, regardless of the supposed duration of their stay in the foreign country, are to be placed on an equal foot-

ing with the native workers in respect of the rights and duties in all branches of social legislation.

(c) Workmen who are temporarily employed outside the country, or transport workers who are usually employed on the territory of several States, are, in point of insurance, placed under the laws of that State in which the main offices of the business firm are situated.

(d) All documents and certificates in connection with social insurance are to be made out free of charge and exempted from all fiscal dues.

(e) Alien workmen entitled to pensions, on leaving the country in which their right to pensions has been legally established, do not forfeit their claims, provided that their native country recognizes reciprocity. All particular provisions governing this matter, likewise those on the payment of the pensions, and the settlement about the control of these pensioners, are to be embodied in the commercial treaties.

(f) The commercial treaties should also contain the provision as to the inclusion of trade diseases into the category of labor accidents.

(g) The right to unemployment benefit of a State expires on leaving the country in which that right has been acquired. The question as to whether such a claimant should be granted a traveling allowance, must be settled in the commercial treaties.

IV. Hours of Labor

(a) The daily work of all workmen must not exceed ten hours. The Contracting Powers are bound to enact legal regulations according to which the shortening of the daily work should proceed, in certain intervals, in such a manner that after the lapse of ten years from the time of the conclusion of the Peace the legal Eight-Hour-Day should be everywhere established.

(b) The daily work in mines, continuous factories, and particularly unhealthy industries is to be reduced to a maximum day of eight hours.

(c) Night work between 8 o'clock p. m. and 6 o'clock a. m. is to be legally prohibited in all industrial establishments which from their nature or from technical grounds are not dependent on night work. The work in industrial establishments in which night labor is permitted, must not exceed eight hours per shift.

(d) A consecutive rest of thirty-six hours per week must be legally ensured to all workmen. It should take place between Saturday and Monday morning. Exceptions to this rule may only be made for the carrying out of operations which are necessary for the resumption of work on Monday, likewise for establishments which on technical grounds can not be interrupted, and for arrangements which are required for the recreation and education of the people on Sundays. In all such cases the thirty-six hours consecutive rest must be granted on weekdays. The exceptions must be carefully specified in the laws governing this matter. In continuous factories and establishments, reserve shifts must be arranged in order to allow the workmen a continuous rest of thirty-six hours; the shifts are to be so arranged that the workmen should get alternately every third week one free Sunday.

(e) The particularly unhealthy industries should be carefully defined by regulation or law in every country.

V. Hygiene

(a) The Contracting Powers pledge themselves to promote the development of the legislation of their countries for the protection of the health of the workers. A serious attempt should be made to unify the hygienic regulations for the various industries and permanently to

cooperate against industrial poisoning and for the prohibition of particularly unhealthy processes of production.

(b) The lists of industrial poisons kept by the International Association of legal Protection of Labor are to be consulted when the common efforts on behalf of trade hygiene, as mentioned *sub a*, are being made. In industrial and trade establishments the use of such poisons is to be excluded for which less dangerous poison can be substituted.

(c) For the industrial establishments mentioned *sub IV*, special regulations as to the maximum hours of labor should be agreed upon according to the magnitude of the danger involved in the particular branches of industry.

VI. Home Industries

(a) All laws and regulations concerning labor protection should be applied in a reasonable manner to the home industries.

(b) Social insurance is to be extended to home industries.

(c) Home industries are to be prohibited:

1. In all kinds of work which expose the workmen to severe injuries to health or poisonings.

2. In the production of articles of food and luxuries.

(d) Compulsory notification of infectious diseases should be instituted in home industries.

(e) Medical inspection of all minors working in home industries should be made analogous to the medical School inspection.

(f) Compulsory keeping of lists and control of lists are to be agreed upon for all workers and sub-contractors, likewise the keeping of wages books for all workers.

(g) In all districts of home industries there should be instituted wages boards, consisting of an equal number of employers and employed, whose duty it is to fix rates of wages; these rates of wages shall be legally binding. The lists of wages shall be posted up in the workshops.

VII. Protection of Children

(a) Children under 15 years of age shall not be employed as wage-workers in any trade or industry.

(b) The maximum working day of juveniles from 15 to 18 years of age shall be eight hours, with an hour and a half rest for meals after uninterrupted work of four hours at the utmost. Trade and Continuation Schools are to be established for the juvenile workers of both sexes; the school hours to be timed between 8 o'clock a. m. and 6 o'clock p. m. The juveniles must be given time to attend school.

(c) The employment of juveniles is to be prohibited:

(1) From 8 o'clock p. m. to 6 o'clock a. m.

(2) On Sundays and festival days.

(3) In particularly dangerous and unhealthy trades referred to in section IV.

(4) In mines at underground work.

VIII. Protection of Women

(a) Female workers and employes in factories and workshops, in trade, commerce, and transport, and in home industries shall be limited to eight hours daily or forty-four hours weekly. On Saturdays their work must cease at noon, so that the female workers and employes shall be secured a rest of forty-two hours till Monday morning. The employment of women in the time from 8 o'clock p. m. to 6 o'clock a. m. is to be prohibited.

(b) The employers are not allowed to give out to the female workers, after the daily task is finished, new work to be done at their homes.

(c) The employment of women in particularly unhealthy trades (referred to in Section IV) and in mines at underground work, is to be prohibited.

(d) Before and after confinement, women shall not be allowed to work for a period of ten weeks (after the confinement for at least six weeks). The granting of a maternity benefit, the amount of which shall at least be equal to the legal sickness allowance, is to be made obligatory upon all States.

IX. Execution of Labor Protection Laws

(a) An effective inspection of factories and workshops, trade, commerce, transport, home industries, likewise in agriculture in case mechanical power is used, shall be introduced in all countries.

(b) The officers of factory inspection shall be recruited from the ranks of experts, workers, and employes. Their number must be adequate, so that every establishment, factory, workshop, mine, etc., shall be inspected at least once in six months; the officers must be invested with executive powers and be in a position of independence. For the control of the execution of the regulations concerning protection of female labor, lady inspectors shall be appointed.

(c) The trade unions called into being by the granting of coalition rights to the workmen in all countries (referred to in Section IIa) are to participate in the effective execution of labor protection. Especially the trade unions are to be urged upon to render, by their committees, secretariats, etc., all possible assistance to the factory inspectors.

(d) For the purpose of insuring the execution of the laws and regulations concerning labor protection, the employers of factories with at least five alien workmen, are to be legally bound to establish, at their own expense and under the control of the public School authorities, courses of instruction in which the alien workmen should learn the language of the country.

(e) The International Association of legal Protection of Labor (at Basle) should be, in the Peace Treaty, expressly recognized as the organ for the execution and promotion of international labor protection.

Its international Labor Office should collect and publish in the three main languages all social reform materials, as statistics, social insurance and labor protection laws, important regulations, etc.; to watch over the execution of the social reform agreements sketched out or embodied in the international treaties; to be in constant communication with the central labor offices or Government departments which have also the functions of labor offices; to furnish, on demand, expert opinion on the various matters of social reform legislation; to undertake the preparation and direction of international inquiries regarding these questions; and to study all factors which concern the development and the application of social reform legislation. The International Association has particularly to care for a rapid exchange of labor market statistics between the various countries.

(f) The International Labor Federation should be allowed to have a representative in the International Labor Office.

(g) The International Labor Office is to convoke the International Congresses for the Promotion of Labor Protection and Social Reform Legislation which shall be arranged periodically, and be officially represented, by the Contracting States. The latter Powers pledge themselves to take action for the carrying out of the resolutions of those Congresses.

(h) The cost of that Office shall be defrayed by the Contracting States.

The foregoing demands are to be considered as the minimum of labor protection which can and must be fixed in the coming Peace Treaty. In view of the enormous losses in man-power sustained by all belligerent countries it is the imperative duty to exercise a wise economy with the remaining popular forces. Those nations will recover quickest who are most profoundly convinced of the importance of social reform after the war and who are determined enough to effect, with least delay, comprehensive reforms. The outline of a series of such pledges in the Peace Treaty should pave the way for such reform work.

It is not necessary to adduce lengthy arguments in support of those demands, since we are dealing with legal provisions which are in force in various countries, not in their entirety, but some of them in this or that country and others in several other countries. At any rate, their practicability has been proved. The question is now to lend international sanction to a uniform outline of fundamental requirements of labor protection.

We must, however, say a few words as to our demand for a liberal right of combination of the workmen in all countries. Apparently, this is a question mainly of home affairs of every country; in reality, however, the right of combination and freedom of movement are first-rate international questions when we come to deal with labor protection, since all social reform Acts are of small value if the workmen themselves, through their organizations, are not able to watch over and to enforce the carrying out of those enactments. If labor protection, as agreed upon internationally, is to succeed in bringing about a certain uniformity of the conditions of work in all countries, the right of coalition must, in the first place, be acknowledged and carried through in all countries. This has not been the case up till now. Whilst in some of the belligerent countries the workmen have got the opportunity for raising themselves to a higher level, they are groaning in other countries under the oppression of autocratic arbitrariness. To remove this state of things is not only the moral duty of the Governments on the occasion of the making of the Peace Treaty, but is a prerequisite to the realization of labor protection which our Motion desires to effect.

The few neutral States which have been able to keep away from the war and therefore can not participate in the making of the Peace Treaty, should be urged upon to join the social reform section of the said Treaty. They will all the less be able to shirk this duty as the working classes and the progressive elements of those countries will press upon them to acknowledge it. Still, it may be advisable to make them come in and take part in the proceedings on this question, in order to put, at the conclusion of the Peace, the international association of the States for legal labor protection on the broadest possible basis. Our demands will put all Governments to the test with regard to their social reform sentiments and intentions. The Governments of many States have surfeited the world with high-sounding words—words of "freedom for the nations." Words alone won't do. We desire deeds.

Proposed International Conferences

The most interesting correspondence of the year is concerned with efforts to arrange international conferences of representatives of workers. The difficulties these efforts encountered were serious. In addition to the natural aversion against meeting during the war with representatives of the enemy of their country or their enemies' allies, there were reasons for the convictions that the

peace conferences were furthered by not wholly proper purposes. Some of the peace propaganda was rightly classified as a "peace aggressive" and intended to strengthen the power of autocracy.

The first proposal was to hold a conference of representatives of the trade union movements of the various countries at Berne, Switzerland. As the correspondence shows, this conference was to consider labor's peace demands at the close of the war and a program that was adopted at Leeds, England, by a conference of representatives of the workers of the allied countries. The Berne conference was not held.

Another proposition was made that such a conference should be held in December of this year.

The Russian workers after their revolution first suggested the holding of an international conference within their own country. When this was found impracticable a conference was suggested for Stockholm. Various representatives went to Stockholm at different times during the summer, chiefly representatives of Socialist parties. The resident group in Stockholm continued its efforts throughout the summer to secure a conference that would be representative of the various countries. Conviction prevailed, however, that the same influence that was attempting to thwart freedom of action in Russia was also intending to dominate the proposed conference at Stockholm. The following correspondence ensued relative to the movements concerned in the Berne and Stockholm proposals:

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1917

As you know the most insidious influences are at work not only to create a pro-Kaiser propaganda but also to divide and alienate from one another the nations and peoples fighting for the freedom and democracy of the world. It is your duty as it is the duty of all to impress upon all labor organizations of European neutral countries the truth about the pretended international socialist congress called to be held at Stockholm. It should be emphasized that it does not represent the working class of America, England, France or Belgium, but was called by the German socialists and certain other notoriously pro-German agitators in other countries either to bring about a Kaiser-dictated peace under the deceptive catch-phrase "no annexations, no indemnities," or in the hope of deceiving the Russian socialists into betraying the great western democracies into consenting to a separate peace. It was for the above reasons I cabled yesterday direct to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies at Petrograd.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

NOTE.—Identical telegrams were sent to the following: Jouhaux, Secrétaire-Confédération Générale de Travail, Paris, France; Louis Dubreuilh, Secrétaire, Parti Socialiste, Paris, France; G. J. Wardle, M. P. Chairman, The British Labor Party, No. 1, Victoria St. Westminster, London, S. W. England.

CABLEGRAM.

May 14, 1917

LONDON,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

British Workers' League sends Federation enthusiastic congratulations on your splendid lead to European democracy resolved to struggle with you for destruction of German autocracy and vindication of rights, labor, humanity and freedom of peoples.

SEDDON, Chairman
VICTOR FISHER, Secretary

CABLEGRAM

AMSTERDAM

GOMPERS,

Washington.

I am charged by the International Federation of Trade Unions to invite you to assist at an international congress of trade union centers, which is to be held in Stockholm Folkshus on June 8, Agenda; discussion, and establishment of claims of trade unionists at peace negotiations. I beg information by wire of the names of your delegates. The Dutch Federation of Trade Unions in charge.

OUDEGEEST,

May 24, 1917

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, *May 24, 1917*

OUDEGEEST,

Amsterdam.

Long before United States entered the war, American Federation of Labor proposed an international conference after the war and at the time and place where the representatives of each government were to meet to determine the treaties and international relations. That proposition was rejected. Now after United States is in the war you propose a conference be held at Stockholm at same time and place when the so-called International Socialist Conference is to be held at Stockholm and this proposition, too, without consultation with trade union centers of United States and other countries. There is no time by which American organized labor could select delegates to attend the Stockholm Conference, June 8, and can not see how any good could come from our participation in such a congress at this time.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

Amsterdam

GOMPERS,

Afel, Washington, D. C.

Your telegram received. Your proposition re international conference has never been rejected by us. There was no time for consultation conference of trade union centers for discussing and establishing claims trade unionists on basis of program Leeds being necessary before socialist congress. This last adjourned to first July. Are you able to come if trade union conference is equally adjourned.

OUDEGEEST .

(Received July, 1917.)

LANDSORGANISATIONEN I SVERIGE

Landssekretariatet

Invitation to a General International Trade Union Conference

The international conference of trades unions in Stockholm, June 8, 1917, to which the trades unions of Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria had sent representatives, has paid due attention to the program that the trades union conference in Leeds, July, 1916, drew up as the outlines of the claims of peace of the trades unions federation.

The conference considers that the assurance of the protection of the workers' rights, of their protection against accidents, and of the

insurance of the workers to life and safety, etc., must become one of the most important conditions of the coming treaty of peace.

As these questions have intimate connection with the working classes the world over, the conference considers it not to be expedient, to take them up to a definitive discussion at present. The conference therefore resolves to appoint a new conference to be held in Switzerland, September 17, 1917, so that the trades unions of all countries will have the possibility to participate. The workingmen of all countries, organized in their trades unions, are invited to send representatives to this new conference. The conference of Stockholm considers it to be expedient, that to this new conference not only three representatives may be sent from each country, according to the rules of the International Trades Unions' Federation, but that it will be permitted for each country to send up to ten representatives, with the maintenance of the stipulation, that each country will have only one vote.

The conference is fully convinced, that such a meeting of representatives of the organized workers of all the world shall have a decisive importance to assure the situation of the international working classes and the progress of the human civilization.

The war has already for too long a time internationally divided the working classes. Once more to unite them to the struggle for the rights and for the protection of the workers, is the great duty, for the fulfilment of which we must join together in the common cause.

Stockholm, 8th of June, 1917.

With fraternal greetings,

J. OUDEGEEST, Holland; OLE O. LIAN, Norway; ERNST SODERBERG, Sweden; G. BAUER, Germany; CARL F. MADSEN, Denmark; P. AAROE, Norway; K. H. WIIK, Finland; I. SASSENBACH, Germany; PEDER HEDEBOL, Denmark; HERM. LINDQUIST, Sweden; C. LEGIEN, Germany; A. HUEBER, Austria; S. JASZAI, Hungary; Dr. SAKAROFF, Bulgaria.

CABLEGRAM

June 6, 1917

OUDEGEEST,

Amsterdam.

Cablegram received. Please advise me names of national trade union centers you propose inviting to conference July 1.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

APPLETON,

Hamilton House, Bidborough Street,
London.

In your letter May 9 just received you say federation would be willing to be represented in conference delegates from allied countries. American papers a few days ago published cablegram stating your federation would be represented at Stockholm conference. These appear to conflict. Just received telegram from Oudegeest stating that if I will go to conference he would be willing to postpone it from June 8 to July 1. Impossible for me now definitely answer but would be pleased to have cable answer from you.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

10W D London 17 Afel.,
(Amn Fed of Labor), Washington.

Federation declines to attend conference at Stockholm. Will for the present only attend allies.

APPLETON

June 6, 1917.

CABLEGRAM

Amsterdam

GOMPERS,
Washington.

Succeeded in getting conference Stockholm adjourned. Will probably take place end July. Intention to invite all national centers affiliated with International Federation of Trade Unions.

OUDEGEEST

June 9

CABLEGRAM

Stockholm,

SAM GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

The conference of trades unions on June 8 in Stockholm at which was represented Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria has decided to call together an international conference of trades unions to discuss the demands of peace of the trades unions on September 17 in Switzerland. I am given the office to invite all the trades unions centrals to this conference. Please and give me communication whether you accept the invitation.

LINDQUIST, *President of the Conference.*

June 16 1917

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, *June 18, 1917*

LINDQUIST,
President, Conference,
Stockholm.

Cablegram received. Executive Council, American Federation Labor begins meeting Thursday. Will lay your communication before them and advise you.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WM London 44, Afel,
Washington.

Telegram received from Lindquist letter from Jouhaux re new proposals for international conference. Management committee opposed to meeting any but representative of allies is however sending deputation to Paris to confer with French federation. Desires that you should be kept posted.

APPLETON

June 15, '17

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, *June 18, 1917*APPLETON,
London.

Cablegram received. Cablegram from Lindquist also received. Will lay matter before Executive Council, American Federation of Labor at meeting beginning Thursday. Please keep me advised result your conference with Jouhaux and decision British Federation. Will also advise you.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 27, 1917*LINDQUIST,
Stockholm.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session after due deliberation upon invitations received from you and from Oudegeest of Amsterdam, Holland, to send delegates to a conference proposed to be held at Stockholm, September 17, decided that we regard all such conferences as premature and untimely and can lead to no good purpose. We apprehend that a conference such as is contemplated would rather place obstacles in the way to democratize the institutions of the world and hazard the liberties and opportunities for freedom of all peoples. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor with its 2,500,000 members can not accept invitation to participate in such a conference.

If an international trade union conference is to be held it should be at a more opportune time than the present or the immediate future, and in any event the proposals of the American Federation of Labor for international conference should receive further and more sympathetic consideration. Shall be glad to continue correspondence.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM *

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 27, 1917*JOUHAUX,
Paris.

Have just sent following cable. "Lindquist President Conference Stockholm. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session, after due deliberation upon invitations received from you and from Oudegeest of Amsterdam Holland, to send delegates to a conference proposed to be held at Switzerland September 17, decided that we regard all such conferences as premature and untimely and can lead to no good purpose. We apprehend that a conference such as is contemplated would rather place obstacles in the way to democratize the institutions of the world and hazard the liberties and opportunities for freedom of all peoples. Therefore the American Federation of Labor with its 2,500,000 members can not accept invitation to participate in such a conference. If an international trade union conference is to be held it should be at a more opportune time than the present or the immediate future, and in any event the proposals of the American Federation of Labor for international conference should receive further and more sympathetic consideration. Shall be glad to continue correspondence."

GOMPERS

* Similar cablegrams also sent to Appleton, London, and Oudegeest, Amsterdam.

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 27, 1917*JAMES DUNCAN,
Petrograd.

The following cablegram was sent to Lindquist, Oudegeest, Appleton, Jouhaux: "The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session, after due deliberation upon invitations received from Lindquist and from Oudegeest of Amsterdam, Holland, to send delegates to a conference proposed to be held at Stockholm, September 17, decided that we regard all such conferences as premature and untimely and can lead to no good purpose. We apprehend that a conference such as is contemplated would rather place obstacles in the way to democratize the institutions of the world and hazard the liberties and opportunities for freedom of all peoples. Therefore, the American Federation of Labor with its 2,500,000 members can not accept invitation to participate in such a conference. If an international trade union conference is to be held it should be at a more opportune time than the present or the immediate future, and in any event the proposals of the American Federation of Labor for international conference should receive further and more sympathetic consideration. Shall be glad to continue correspondence." Gompers.

Executive Council sends greetings and best wishes for full success your mission for cooperation, freedom and democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

London 60, Afel, Wash.

Representatives back from France. Still opposed to conference at Berne. Matter will be decided this week at annual conference. Please await written report. Just addressed Canadian soldiers at Crowborough Kent. They unanimously send you their regards and express their pleasure at landing of American troops in France. Delighted at opportunity of lining up with your boys.

APPLETON

Jul. 2, '17.

CABLEGRAM

Gloucester 43,

Afel, Wash.

General Federation of Trade Unions in conference assembled on Independence Day conveys sincere good wishes to American colleagues and are happy in the knowledge that American having won and enjoyed liberty is now fighting for the liberty of the world.

APPLETON

July 5, '17.

CABLEGRAM

Gloucester 22, Afel,

Washington.

French confederation address best wishes on anniversary of American liberty and hopes for the immediate independence of all people.

JOUHAUX

July 5, '17.

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and Binding

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Best Image
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CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Aug. 10, 1917*

COMPARE MOREL,
Chamber of Deputies,
Paris.

Your cablegram received. American Federation of Labor will not be represented at Stockholm conference. Our delegates will be in attendance at the London conference September 10 of the representatives of labor of the allied countries. Regret exceedingly that it will be impossible for me personally to be in attendance. My duties here forbid.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 7, 1917*

SEDDON,
London.

Replying your cablegram would say I have already cabled Appleton that the conference of the labor organizations of all countries can not at this time or in the near future be productive of good; that so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned it will not at this time send representative to such conference; that more favorable results must develop before the conference of labor of all countries can be advantageous. Our fraternal delegates will attend British Trade Union Congress and conference of labor organizations of allied countries for September 10.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

STOCKHOLM

GOMPERS,
801 G Street,
Washington.

Time August. Place Stockholm. Aims position labor to war principles of stable peace, means to realize.

Aug. 11.

HUYSMANS

CABLEGRAM.

LONDON

GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

We are acting with Appleton and other reliable trades unionists. The voting of the branches of unions taken by us record the fact that 1,500,000 trades unionists are in favor of the seamen's and firemen's action. We are convening a further conference of trades unionists to demand referendum prior to sending delegates to Stockholm to meet enemy delegates. It is rumored that you are coming to London; if so the committee of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union desire that you will be our guest.

HAVELOCK WILSON

Aug. 11, '17.

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 11, 1917

HAVELOCK WILSON,

No. 53, Parliament Street, London.

Cablegram received. Felt sure you would be acting with Appleton and other reliable trade unionists. American Federation of Labor will not be represented in Stockholm conference. We regard that conference as prejudicial to the cause of permanent peace and democracy. Thanks for courteous invitation, but duties here forbid my leaving the United States at this time.

GOMPERS

33, Rue De La Grange-Aux-Belles, Paris

PARIS, August 23, 1917

M. GOMPERS, *President,*

American Federation of Labor,

801-809 G Street N. W.,

Washington, D. C., America.

COMRADE: The Committee of the Confederation in session of Monday, 20th of August, decided on the principle of participation of the Stockholm Conference, maintaining a reserve with respect to the methods, the form of representation and the attitude to be observed.

I informed you of this decision because we will speak of it at our inter-allied conference.

In awaiting to see you, receive, comrade, my fraternal and trade union salutation.

L. JOUHAUX

CABLEGRAM

STOCKHOLM, 27

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Washington.

Please induce whole American labor and socialist press to send copies information Bureau Russian Workman's Soldiers' Council, Stockholm, Postfack 682. Oblige, Socialist Greeting.

WEINBERG

Another document received at the A. F. of L. offices during July, 1917, is of great interest where it shows the situation existing in a neutral country and demonstrates the far-reaching effects of the war.

BERNE, June 30, 1917

TO MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President of the American Federation of Labor,

Washington.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The organized workers of Switzerland are following with great apprehension the development of the war. A feeling of relief went through our ranks when in December last President Wilson invited the belligerent powers to announce their aims of war. We hoped this to be the first step to end the murderous conflict which devastates Europe, annihilates the flower of nations and impoverishes the countries. It was, alas, a short illusion. The great republic beyond the Atlantic has since entered the lists, and now it very much looks as if Europe were to bleed to death before the horrible game will be terminated.

But it is not only a humane emotion which stirs us in beholding the desperate condition of international affairs. Switzerland itself, a small island of peace, surrounded by a surging sea of battle, feels the pinch of war more keenly every day. Even in times of peace Switzerland is more than any other country dependent upon foreign imports. We have neither coals nor metals of our own; nor have we bread for our close to four millions of inhabitants. From the outbreak of the war already our imports were considerably restricted, and many of the old ways of supply blocked, so that it soon became necessary to ration a series of provisions, whilst others are procurable only at enormous prices or not at all. The belligerents watch us with greatest distrust. They demand security that the supplies which they transmit to us are not being used to provision any of their enemies. *Now this security has become a reality today. With the co-operation and under the control of the belligerents organizations have been formed whose business it is to watch the entire import and export of our country.* The federal government have established a monopoly for the trade in cereals. Neither corn, nor rice, nor Indian corn is allowed to be imported by private persons. Again, the trade in raw materials to supply our industries, and without which a great number of our industrial workers would be unemployed, such as cotton and certain metals, which are imported chiefly from America, underlies a rigorous control. There is then an absolute security against the export of such supplies. It would, moreover, be impossible to import, say American or even home-grown grain, as we suffer ourselves from a great shortness of it. Last year we had a very bad harvest of potatoes, which in times of peace are one of the chief items in the diet of the working population of Switzerland. In spite of all endeavors it was impossible to procure from abroad more than half of the import of normal years. The attempt to cover this deficiency by a greater consummation of bread was partially frustrated by the scarcity of grain. The shortness and the high prices of victuals spread over to all our products. We have therefore to face the fact, that our working population is in a state of semi-starvation.

In this calamity our country is alarmed by newspaper reports from America according to which the American government has the intention to restrict our imports from there in a still higher degree than hitherto or even to forbid them altogether. We refuse to believe in the truth of these reports which seem to us simply monstrous. Their realization would place Switzerland in a position worse than that of any other country.

From the beginning of the war to this day Switzerland has strictly observed the neutrality guaranteed to her by all the belligerent states. It was especially the working classes who rose against political intriguers and military mischief makers. Switzerland is resolved to maintain loyally its neutrality under all circumstances to the very last. We know that any leaning towards the one side or the other would simply mean suicide. On the other hand we think we may justly claim that due regard be taken to our difficult situation and that nothing is withheld from us which is indispensable to our existence. If this be not the case it would not be the central powers which would be hurt, but solely Switzerland.

In this connection we may be allowed to mention the services which Switzerland is rendering day by day to citizens of all belligerent and neutral nations. She harbours many thousands of foreigners, whom she keeps not a trifle worse than her own countrymen. She affords

thousands of English, Belgian and German soldiers who have pined away sick and mutilated in the prisoners' camps of their enemies, food and shelter and a substitute of their lost homes. She hospitably receives poor fellowmen who had the good luck to be able to escape from the dreariness and hardship of life of prisoners of war. Many thousand of war cripples it has conveyed through the country towards their native land. It has accorded a hospitable reception to 200,000 evacuated Frenchmen, women, children and aged people, who were forced to forsake their devastated homesteads in the north of France, has restored them with food and drink and gifts of love to assist them home into their own country. Switzerland has organized a postal service for the prisoners of war of all nations and has thus enabled tens of thousands of mothers, wives and children to correspond by letter with their sons, husbands and fathers, and to send them tokens of love and remembrance. Many of these people had been without news from one another for years. Our country demands nothing in return. She finds its reward in the conviction that she has done and is still doing its international duties to suffering humanity. Should it be possible in the face of these facts that a plan be in consideration methodically to starve our country? We can not believe it. Should there be nevertheless such a plan in preparation, then we count for help upon the workers of America. Across the Atlantic we appeal to their sense of solidarity in this earnest hour. We are firmly confident that our call will not be in vain, and that they will do all in their power to frustrate such unjustified designs. They will inform the working classes and the whole nation of America of the situation of our country and tell them besides that it would be erroneous to conclude that the capacity of resistance of the central powers could be influenced by the extension of the blockade to Switzerland. On the other hand there is to be considered that our country would be doomed to perish if its imports should be cut off for a space of two months only. Let alone all the political consequences.

We beseech you therefore to interest the workers of America in our serious situation and to use all your influence with the competent authorities, lest the fateful step in question be really taken. For doing so be assured of the gratitude of the working classes of Switzerland.

In conclusion we give expression to the hope, that it will be possible in the near future to assemble the representatives of the trade unions of the world in spite of all difficulties and misunderstandings in peace and harmony to useful and beneficial work.

With international greetings,
SCHWEIZ. GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND UNION SUISSE DES FEDERATIONS
SYNDICALES.

The Secretary,
KARL DURR

The President,
P. SCHNEIDERGER.

Seamen

During the summer of 1917 there was at one time under consideration a proposal of Russian working men to hold an international conference of workers in that country. The sailors of Great Britain felt perhaps more keenly than any other group of workers the barbarities to which they had been subjected during the war. The organization of sailors of Great Britain was opposed to meeting with delegates from the country making war upon Great Britain and refused to assist in any way whatever the holding of such a conference. The

following letter and circulars were received from J. Havelock Wilson, the President of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland:

THE NATIONAL SAILORS' AND FIREMEN'S UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

MARITIME HALL, WEST INDIA DOCK ROAD, LONDON, E.

53 PARLIAMENT ST., LONDON, S. W. 1, 3d July, 1917

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,

The American Federation of Labor.

MY DEAR GOMPERS: I was pleased to have your cable and to note you were in full sympathy with our protest against the Germans murdering men escaping from their sinking ships in the life boats. I do not think my dear friend Furuseth quite realizes the position judging from the last letter I had from him.

We are now organizing great national demonstrations in every town and city throughout Great Britain for August 3 to renew our confidence and determination to carry on the war to a successful conclusion, and also to give encouragement to our poor unfortunate French comrades who have certainly been hard hit. A request is being sent to you to supply us with 200 speakers from America to distribute amongst the various towns and cities for August 3.

It will be a very popular move, and I think the United States government would do well to back up this confidence. About the 14th August it is proposed to send a big delegation to France with a view of giving heart to the French people.

I anticipate you will hear in due course from Appleton, Seddon and others; I am merely writing you ahead of time.

I am sorry to say, my dear Sam, that I am still a cripple with very little use in my legs, but I am still able to carry on.

Please convey my fraternal greetings to all friends who remember me on your side.

Yours faithfully,

J. HAVELOCK WILSON

THE NATIONAL SAILORS' AND FIREMEN'S UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

THE SEAMEN'S ACTION IN REFUSING TO CARRY PEACE DELEGATES TO PETROGRAD

53 PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER, S. W.

FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS: Many letters have come to hand from trade unionists in all parts of the kingdom asking for explanation on certain points connected with the refusal of the sailors and marine firemen of this country to carry particular peace delegates to Russia or elsewhere.

The task of endeavoring to obtain the opinion of some 4,000,000 organized workers on this action of the seamen is a very big one; so big, in fact, that it is quite impossible—much to my regret—to reply individually to so many inquiries. Their receipt, however, suggests that the action of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union is not entirely understood, and I therefore crave your indulgence whilst I endeavor to state our case as clearly and fairly as I possibly can in the form of supplementary circular.

The Leeds Conference

The first point to consider is this: Was the Leeds Conference a bona fide one, fitted or qualified to represent and to express the considered judgment of the organized British workers as a whole. In the opinion of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland *it was not*.

The "Labor Party" of this country is composed of trade unionists, of socialists, of the section of labor known as the Independent Labor Party, of Fabians and others. The "Labor Party" early this year held a conference at Manchester, when peace and other proposals were considered. By large majorities the peace proposals, put forward by the peace party at this really representative conference were defeated. Not being prepared, however, to abide by this decision of the majority of their fellow-workers, the peace party made Russian Revolution the excuse for a "convention" of their own, conducted by themselves, "to organize the British democracy to follow Russia." This "convention," far from being a formal assembly of representatives "of the British democracy," was but a convention of representatives of the Peace-at-any-price party, chosen by their nominees. Had this Leeds "convention" been organized and conducted by the Labor Party I venture to say that there would have been little or no complaint, for it would have been largely representative of the whole, and not, as it proved to be, representative of a very small part only of the British democracy.

Did the Conveners of the Leeds' Convention Act Honestly?

In sending out the Leeds invitations the organizing committee—"acting on behalf of the United Socialist Council"—evidently selected executives and branches of unions whom they *knew*, and of whose support they felt sure. Many trade unions received no invitation to send representatives, and no notice of the convention other than what appeared in the newspapers. Several delegates who attended had no mandate whatever from the members of their respective unions. They were appointed to attend with merely a sort of "watching brief."

The Sailors' Representatives

The Sailors' and Firemen's Union—seeing that trade unionists as such had been invited—decided to send two representatives to express the views of the seamen on the "without annexations or indemnities" clause of the "war aims" or peace resolution. These representatives of the sailors received a most hostile reception. We have been told that this opposition must not be taken as indicative of any lack of sympathy for the seamen, but as being due to the fact that one of the seamen's delegates, Captain Tupper, had taken a prominent part in opposing a particular peace meeting at Cardiff. I beg to remind those who express that view that our other representative was Councillor Peter Wright of Newport, a man whose name is honored and respected throughout the whole of South Wales. He rose over twelve times to address the conference, but was ignored by the chairman, who, I am informed, knows Councillor Peter Wright very well indeed.

Sneers and Jeers

Some of the delegates who attended the conference have written to state that they heard no jeers hurled at the seamen or at their representatives. This may be perfectly true so far as "hearing" is concerned, as the Coliseum Hall in Leeds is of considerable size, and those who may have been far from the platform might not have heard all that

was said. The committee of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, however, relied on the press reports, confirmed by our own delegates who were in attendance. I am fully convinced that these sneers and jeers were indulged in; for, in addition to what was said concerning the same in the press and reported by our own delegates, they are reproduced in some of the abusive letters which I have received condemning the Sailors' and Firemen's Union for our action.

Why We Have Taken Action.

A good many of the Leeds delegates are evidently under the impression that the seafaring men are claiming preferential treatment in the way of compensation. Some ask: "Why not compensate the families of all men who have been killed in the war?" We as an organized body raise no objection; but that is not our point. Others ask: "Why not make the ship owners compensate the dependents of the seamen?" My reply to that is: The ship owners do compensate as far as the compensation laws of this country provide for workmen's compensation.

When the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union speaks of restitution we do not mean financial compensation only, but that at the end of the war those found guilty of murder should be held accountable for it.

Traditions of the Sea.

The calling of the mariner is one of the oldest and most honorable, and in it the brotherhood and chivalry of the sea have ever been held in highest estimation. This does not apply to the seamen of Great Britain alone, but to the seamen of the world. The international record is a glorious one. In calamities at sea the traditional order is women, children and juniors first; men and seniors last. In victory the primary consideration of the naval officer and seaman is the rescue of the defeated. He is no longer an enemy; the law of chivalry has transformed him into a brother entitled to rescue at all risk and at all cost.

What We Complain Of

We, as British seamen, are not complaining of the Germans sinking our own, allied and neutral ships—a good deal can be said on both sides with regard to that. The policy of the allies has been to endeavor, by cutting off German supplies, to bring the war to a close. This was the German method of dealing with the French in the Franco-Prussian War. The Germans may argue that as we are endeavoring to cut off *their* supplies they in retaliation are endeavoring to do the same thing with us and our allies by sinking our ships. Very well. According to international law, however, this must be done under certain well-defined conditions. There is what is called the right to search and capture, but the crews of vessels may not be subjected to imprisonment or placed in positions of danger.

The Germans claim that we are no longer masters of the sea; that the German fleet has vanquished the British fleet in almost every encounter. If that is so, why sink ships at sight and without warning? And why accompanied with so much cowardice and brutality? Ships sunk at so great distance from land that there is but small chance of rescue for the crew and certain prolonged and terrible sufferings for them whether ultimately rescued or not. And why the destruction of boats and the slaughter of unarmed escaping crews?

The "Alnwick Castle" Incident

Read all of you the narrative of the master of the "Alnwick Castle"; he with some thirty men in an open boat floated about the ocean without food or water in mid-winter, and day by day those men slowly died, some of them having become raving lunatics before they jumped into the sea and drowned.

Firing on Unarmed Men

Take again the many incidents that have occurred where the seamen of all nations when their vessels have been torpedoed have made for the boats, and the U-boat crews have turned their guns on the men's only means of escape; viz., the lifeboats. They have shattered the boats to pieces with their shells, and those of the crew who were fortunate enough to reach the boats have been killed and injured whilst trying to get away.

Abominable Incident

I cite one case out of many where a certain ship was torpedoed without warning. The men on this particular vessel had no opportunity of getting into the boats, but there was a life raft on the deck, which floated off as the vessel sank. A number of men succeeded in reaching this raft, but there was one man who sank with the vessel and afterwards came to the surface and was swimming for over half an hour a considerable distance from the raft. The German U-boat maneuvered round whilst the poor man in the water made piteous appeals to her crew to take him out of the water and convey him to the raft. What will the peacemen say when I tell him that instead of helping this unfortunate brother seaman the whole of the German crew mustered on deck to jeer at him and told him he might swim as he had plenty of time before him.

Now please understand, fellow trade unionists, these are not reports furnished to us by newspapers, but reports made to us by our own members—the sufferers themselves—on reaching shore. Over 3,000 merchant sailors and firemen have already thus been done to death.

British Seamen Had No Hatred Against the German

When the war started in 1914 there were some thousands of Germans employed on British ships. The majority of them were members of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. Our men felt sorry for their alien shipmates who could in no way be held responsible for the war. Our members believed that it was their duty to help their German comrades who had been overtaken by misfortune in consequence of the outbreak of war. I am speaking now of September, 1914. All German seamen were removed from British ships. There were no internment camps at that time ready for the reception of German seamen. They were unable to obtain employment because of the war, and therefore became destitute. To meet the difficulty their British shipmates established a camp for the shelter of the German seamen who had been placed in so unfortunate a position. This camp was recognized by all authorities as the model camp of Great Britain, and the very best treatment that was possible was meted out to those Germans. I only mention this incident to show that the chivalry of the sea still retains its sway amongst British seamen; but mark what follows:

The "Lusitania" Incident

The camp had been started some twelve months and had some 800 interned men. A week before the "Lusitania" was torpedoed arrangements had been made for a concert to be held for the benefit of the interned German seamen. Every preparation had been made for its success, and it was to take place on the evening that followed the day of the sinking of the "Lusitania." On reading the news of this terrible calamity I thought it my duty to immediately cancel the holding of the concert, which I did. I called together those 800 German seamen and told them what had happened; namely, that 500 of their fellow-members, who like themselves were not responsible for the war, had been done to death. My statement was received in silence, and when I had done speaking there was not a single expression of regret. I then left the hall very sad at heart at the manifestation of such callousness. But worse was to follow. Before I had gone many yards I heard a mighty cheer! Instead of expressions of regret there was great rejoicing at what had happened.

Combatants and Non-Combatants

British seafaring men are not the class to complain of the hurts they get in a fair stand-up fight. Our complaint is that there has been no fair stand-up fight in the German submarine attacks upon our merchant seamen. They have been murdered without an opportunity of defending themselves. If the commanders and crews of the U-boats had had a spark of humanity in them hundreds of lives might have been saved, and hundreds have been spared much needless suffering. Scores of our members have been torpedoed out of our vessels six, eight, and even nine times. Regardless of their sufferings these men have immediately on regaining the land signed on in another ship, feeling that it was their duty to their fellow-countrymen to keep the mercantile marine running to prevent the people of these islands being deprived of their daily bread. It is to be recorded that, in spite of the terrible sufferings and losses amongst seamen during this war, not one merchant ship has been detained five minutes for the want of a crew because the seafaring men were afraid to face the danger.

Behind the Scenes

I have received many abusive letters in which our case has been described as a political dodge, and the writers have inquired as to who is behind the scenes. I have invited some of these correspondents to come to 53, Parliament Street, London, to see for themselves we have nothing to hide. We simply took our own course by issuing a brief circular asking our fellow trade unionists whether they endorse our action or not. We are prepared to stand or fall by what we have done.

The Other Side

On the other hand, the whole of the "Peace-at-any-price party" have been making the most frantic efforts to misrepresent our action and to influence trades unions and especially trades councils to cast their votes against the sailors.

Should We Withdraw the Boycott

We have been further condemned because when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Jowett offered to sign our undertaking we still refused to carry them. A word of explanation on this point will not be out of

place. On the 4th of June there were assembled in London representatives of the seamen from every district in the United Kingdom. On that morning they read the reports from the papers of what had transpired at the Leeds' Convention—the two delegates that we had sent had not then returned, nor had they made any report—and were naturally very indignant. They resolved to send out a report of what took place and an expression of their indignation to the branches, at the same time requesting their fellow-members to refuse to carry peace delegates on the mission they had undertaken until such delegates apologized for the treatment meted out to the sailors' representatives and had given an undertaking that in any talk of peace the position of merchant seamen should be made clear to the Russian Workmen's Council, and their demands for atonement for the murders of their comrades be voiced. A full report of this appeared in all the newspapers, so that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Jowett and their colleagues knew perfectly well the decision at which the seamen's representatives had arrived. There were no inquiries made by either of these gentlemen and no explanations were offered by them, nor was anything done to appease the anger of the seamen. The seamen in the ports took a much stronger view of the matter than the delegates who had assembled in London, and at these ports the seamen decided that no delegates should be carried unless a similar conference was held, at which apologies would be offered to the seamen, and a resolution passed giving definite instructions to the delegates that restitution would be demanded from the German government.

On the 10th of June, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald arrived at the port of sailing; he offered no apology, but proceeded to the vessel. On his arrival there the men immediately informed the master that if Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Jowett went on board they, the members of the crew, would be reluctantly compelled to leave the vessel. Some hours later Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Jowett offered an apology on behalf of the Leeds conference and gave an undertaking that when they went to Petrograd they would demand restitution for the British seamen. Who gave Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Jowett authority to apologize, and who gave authority to put something forward at Petrograd contrary to the resolution that had been passed at Leeds? The seamen's view of the matter was that a document signed without authority at the last hour by these friends of the Germans might meet with a similar fate to that of another now historical "scrap of paper."

Advised to Withdraw

We have also received many letters from those who sympathize with us, but who now think that having entered our protest and secured the promise of the required "guarantee" we should withdraw our embargo. May I remind our friends who think that way that this matter is no longer a question for the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union alone, but for other organizations of seamen as well:

- The Imperial Merchant Service Guild (Masters and Mates).
- The Mercantile Marine Service Association (Masters and Mates).
- The North of England Masters' and Officers' Society.
- The Marine Engineers' Society.
- The Hull Local Sailors' and Firemen's Union.
- The Fishermen's Societies.
- The Cooks' and Stewards' Union.

These societies represent 200,000 merchant seafarers. If there is to be any change in our policy we submit it can only be done with the sanction and authority of all the unions involved, and not the Sailors' and Firemen's Union alone.

Why We Do Not Withdraw the Embargo at Present

The Leeds' Convention was hurried on, and the peace delegates were appointed and started off in a most undemocratic manner. The sailors are merely holding up these delegates to enable their credentials to be scrutinized by the democracy of the British Empire. They were sent off as representatives of the trade unions of the United Kingdom. The sailors' organization has merely asked the trade unionists to say if that is so; for they, the sailors, do not believe it, and have no intention of being party to any possible delusion of the Russian people.

The "Peace-at-any-price men" pose before the world as democrats when it suits their purpose to assume that role. We seafaring people are surely acting in a democratic spirit when we appeal to every trades union to pass judgment on our action, and it can not be charged against us that we are neglecting to take the opinion of our fellow-workers on our conduct. The conference at Leeds was on the 3d of June, the conference of the seamen dealt with the matter on the 4th of June. Our circular was in the hands of many of the trades unions by the 6th of June, and some of the unions began to vote on the 7th of June. We have sent out up to now well on 7,000 circulars, and in addition we have advertised in almost every paper warning branches of unions and executives of what we are doing and appealing to them to record their votes and transmit them to 53, Parliament Street, as early as possible.

I myself have made the following statement publicly:

"If Mr. Ramsay Macdonald can prove that he has got 500,000 organized workers behind him, that as president of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, I would deem it my duty to advise my colleagues to withdraw the boycott. My feeling is that if there is a substantial minority of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's way of thinking, then the views of that minority should be expressed at Petrograd or anywhere else."

In that event, however, it should be clearly stated in his credentials: that he represents a section only and not the whole British labor.

The British government, so we are told, are anxious that these delegates should proceed on their way, because the Russian government has expressed a desire to hear their views. Judging from this anyone would imagine that the terms of peace were about to be settled at once. Everyone knows that this is not true, and if Mr. Ramsay Macdonald went to Petrograd tomorrow the position would not be altered much, except that if he stands by the peace resolution as moved at Leeds it would lead some of the Russian workers to believe that the working people in this country were ready for peace on any terms and conditions. I venture to say this would be entirely misleading.

Anarchy

Some of my correspondents charge us, because of our recent action with being anarchists and disloyal, lawless citizens. This is strange kind of talk to come from conscientious objectors and others who have defied all kinds of law and order.

British Seafarers' Union

As a counterblast to the action of the national union of seafaring men the British Seafarers' Union has been boomed. This schismatic organization, established by non-seafaring socialists, has a branch at Southampton and another at Glasgow. Mr. Thomas Lewis, the organizer at Southampton, a watchmaker by profession, is, I believe, a conscientious objector and Peace-at-any-price man. His colleague at Glas-

gow is a Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, a tailor's presser by trade, and, like Mr. Lewis, has never been to sea. He is a conscientious objector and so forth, and was most prominent, so I am told, with his sneers and jeers at the Leeds' Convention. He is of military age, but prefers "fighting" in Glasgow to being in the trenches. Mr. Shinwell offered the British government a crew of the British Seafarers' Union members to man the peace delegate ship; that is to say, he offered them the sailors and firemen, but he overlooked the fact that, in addition to sailors and firemen, a ship requires a captain, mates and engineers; he did not tell the government how he would get this other part of the crew.

Now what has been the effect of this offer on Shinwell's part? It has caused a very considerable number of the members of the British Seafarers' Union to tear up their books in disgust and transfer themselves to the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

The International Side of the Seamen's Question

It will be of interest to our fellow trades unionists to know that our action has been endorsed by the seamen of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Italy and France, and by Russian seamen also in a most striking manner.

The local socialist party at Glasgow having written to the captain of the Russian cruiser "Askold," suggesting that he should take steps to have his ship placed at the disposal of the Peace-at-any-price delegates, received an answer in the following terms:

"All of the cruiser's crew are of the opinion that the war must be prosecuted to victory and to the destruction of German militarism, and as, in accordance with this, *we do not want to carry those deputies who are in favor of immediate peace*, I decline to take any initiative in the matter."

Another of Our Objects

Seafaring men may be deemed somewhat foolish with regard to the methods they adopt, but there is very often much method in their seeming madness. The war is not finished yet; and may not be for some time. There will be a good many more ships sunk and a great many more lives lost before the end. We desire to bring such pressure as we can to bear on the German workers to get them to insist upon the modification of the U-boat campaign. We may not be able to prevent the sinking of ships, but we may be able to impress the German seafaring people that while doing what they may deem to be their duty to their country in sinking ships, they may at least do it with decency. We may also cause them to realize that it will not be profitable to go on murdering men in open boats and to leave men to struggle in the open sea. Realization of the unprofitableness of it will come when it is realized that atonement will be demanded and have to be made.

Communications With German Leaders

For the past eighteen months I have been in correspondence with the leaders of the German workers, but not by any secret or under-hand means. The communications I have addressed to Germany have been duly sanctioned and authorized. I have called the attention of the German working class leaders to these brutal and callous murders. My communications have been considered, but the German leaders conclude and say that what has been done was quite justifiable. Whether the rank and file of German workmen are of that opinion I do not know, but evidently those with whom the Peace-at-any-price men would

associate are of the opinion that the murders of British, allied and neutral seamen are only incidents of war.

To those who have expressed their sympathy and support I tender our grateful thanks and gratitude and I can at the same time assure those who oppose and would divert us from our purpose that we will stick to our course, because it is along the lines, so we believe, of mere justice and fair play.

Fellow trade unionists, I apologize for taking up so much of your time, but I trust you will give careful consideration to the case, which I have put forward on behalf of the men whom I represent—our sailors.

Yours faithfully,

J. HAVELOCK WILSON,
General President, National Sailors' and Firemen's
Union of Great Britain and Ireland

Allied Conference, London

The British Federation of Trade Unions at Gloucester decided to invite the trade union movements of the allied countries to participate in a conference at London beginning September 10. Every arrangement had been made for this meeting. Mr. Arthur Henderson, acting for the British labor party, proposed a conference of the labor movements and socialist parties of the allied countries to meet in London August 8 and 9 to consider the war situation. The date of this conference was afterwards changed to August 28. The correspondence relative to the conferences follows:

PARIS, 30 July, 1917

COMRADE SECRETARY: I beg to inform you of the decision taken by the General Federation of the Trade Unions at England at its annual convention at Gloucester to hold a trade union conference of the allied countries the 10th of September next at London.

This conference will consider the Trade Union International Conference of Berne convoked by the Swiss organizations for the first of October, 1917.

On the program of this international conference appear the questions:

First, Transfer of the International Trade Union's Secretariat to a neutral country, its function being assured by a personnel coming from the neutral countries.

Second, The International Trade Union Bulletin.

Third, Modifications of the International Secretariat.

Fourth, The working class clauses to be inserted in the future treaty of peace, questions already solved at the inter-allied Conference of Leeds, July, 1916.

I am besides charged to invite your organization to participate at this Inter-Allied Conference at London the 10th of September to determine our line of conduct on all these questions.

In the hope to see your organization accept the invitation to this conference, the importance of which will not escape you, receive, comrade, my fraternal and trade union salutation.

For the provisional center of correspondence.

The Secretary,
L. JOUHAUX

CABLEGRAM

London 51,

GOMPERS,

A. F. L., Washington.

On initiation labor party executive British section international decided convene conference war situation labor and socialist parties allied nations including America, London, August 8-9, Russian Council represented. Hope reach unanimous resolutions. If impossible differing statements placed on record without voting. Strongly urge your organization send delegates.

HENDERSON

July 26

CABLEGRAM

July 26, 1917

ARTHUR HENDERSON,

London, England.

Cablegram received. It is a regrettable fact that it is physically impossible for American Federation of Labor to send delegates in time to participate in London conference of organized labor movements of all allied countries August 8 and 9. I have also received cablegram from Appleton stating that labor conference of allied nations in London is called for September 10 and our federation could be represented then. However, if either conference is held our earnest hope is that its results will be productive of unity of purpose and ideals and to make safe for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAMS

AFEL, Washington.

General council declines invitation to conference at Berne on September 17, but will arrange conference of allied nations in London for September 10. Earnestly desire attendance of American Federation of Labor.

APPLETON

APPLETON,

London, England.

Just received cablegram from Jouhaux, Paris, asking my opinion upon conference of labor representatives of all countries. I have cabled him as follows: "Cablegram received. Responding to your request for my opinion upon new invitation to a conference organized labor forces of representatives of all countries without hesitation I answer that such a conference can not at this time or in the near future, be productive of good, and as far as American Federation of Labor is concerned it will not send representatives. New and more favorable events must develop before a conference of labor of all countries can be advantageously held."

I am just in receipt of cablegram from Arthur Henderson stating on initiation Executive British Labor Party conference was convened for war situation labor and socialist parties allied nations including United States to be held August 8 and 9, and asks that American Federation of Labor send delegates. I have just cabled to him the following reply: "Cablegram received. It is a regrettable fact that it is physically impossible for American Federation of Labor to send delegates in time to participate in London conference of organized labor movements of

all allied countries August 8 and 9. I have also received cablegram from Appleton stating that labor conference of allied nations in London is called for September 10 and our federation could be represented then. However, if either conference is held our earnest hope is that its results will be productive of unity of purpose and ideals and to make safe for the world justice, freedom and democracy."

GOMPERS

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 26, 1917

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,
American Federation of Labor.

COLLEAGUES: Enclosed you will please find copies of all cablegrams I have received from Mr. Appleton, Secretary of the British Federation of Trade Unions, also copy of cablegram received from Mr. Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation Generale Du Travail, copy of cablegram from Arthur Henderson, chairman of the British Labor Party and member of the British Cabinet; copy of a cablegram received from Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Party, whose home office was in Belgium; also find enclosed copies of my cable replies.

There is additional correspondence and printed matter received at this office from various quarters, but which are too voluminous to copy and of which I have only an original.

I ask the members of the Executive Council to express their judgment as promptly as possible upon the course I have pursued as indicated in my cablegrams hereto attached. If the members of the E. C. approve that the A. F. of L. be represented in the conference at London on September 10, I propose the following:

Resolved, That Mr. Frank Farrington and Mr. John Golden, the American Federation of Labor delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, be authorized and directed to represent the American Federation of Labor in the conference of the representatives of labor of the allied nations, London, September 10, 1917. And further be it

Resolved, That the President of the A. F. of L. in consultation with the resident members of the E. C. at Washington, be authorized and empowered to select an additional representative of the A. F. of L. to act as a third delegate to attend the conference at London, September 10, 1917.

In view of the fact that the fraternal delegates Farrington and Golden will leave the United States perhaps within a week, members of the Executive Council are requested to return their votes upon these two resolutions by telegraph.

With best wishes, I am,
Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

The Executive Council authorized the A. F. of L. fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress to attend the conference of the representatives of the allied countries to be held in London, September 10, 1917, and their report* will be made to the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L. The correspondence received relative to these two conferences follows:

CABLEGRAM

London 45,
AFEL, Washington.

General federation in accord with your point of view. Considers all general conferences futile until freedom of democracy is assured.

*This report is published on pages 77-90 of this volume.

Have cabled Jouhaux disinclination to attend general conference and adhering to September 10 which date was fixed to meet convenience of Afel.

APPLETON

July 28.

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, August 2, 1917

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
Member Parliament,
London.

It is possible American Federation of Labor delegates can reach London August 28 and if entering into conference can not submit to representation of any other body claiming to represent United States Workers. American Trade Union Movement has three and one-half million members and can not divide responsibility with any other body claiming to represent American Labor Movement.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

LONDON.

GOMPERS,
AFEL, Washn.

Allied conference London postponed 28, 29. Strongly urge your delegates attend.

HENDERSON

August 2.

CABLEGRAMS

WC Q London 24

GOMPERS,

AFEL, Washington.

Strongly urge you and colleagues attend 28, 29. Request statement your party's view present position war peace prepared presentation conference.

HENDERSON

Aug. 3, '17.

CABLEGRAM

WC London 51

AFEL, Washington.

General federation of trade unions not consulted concerning labor party conference. Russian delegates made no communication officially or unofficially to Jouhaux or myself. Management committee still opposed to conference with enemy delegates unless conference is preceded by German government's undertaking to evacuate France and Belgium and make reparation.

APPLETON

Aug. 3, '17.

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 10, 1917

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London, England.

Appleton informs me neither British General Federation Trade Unions or Jouhaux of Confederation Generale Du Travail France have

been consulted in calling or preparing for or participating in the conference your party has called. How can American Federation of Labor regard such a conference as representing labor.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 6, 1917*

SEDDON,

Empribrtce Phone London.

Just received following cablegram from Henderson. Allied conference London postponed 28, 29, strongly urge your delegates attend. To which I have sent the following cable reply:

It is possible American Federation of Labor delegates can reach London August 28 and if entering into conference can not submit to representation of any other body claiming to represent United States workers. American Trade Union Movement has three and one-half million members and can not divide responsibility with any other body claiming to represent American Labor Movement.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 10, 1917*

BOWERMAN,

Trade Unionic,
London.

Delegate Frank Farrington very important reasons resigned and James Lord substituted by Federation Executive Council. He and John Golden will represent American Federation of Labor at British Trade Union Congress and London conference of representatives of labor of allied countries September 10.

GOMPERS

CABLEGRAM

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 10, 1917*

APPLETON,

London, England.

Your cablegram received. Have also received cablegram from Henderson strongly urging our federation delegates to attend conference 28, 29. I have sent him following cable reply:

Appleton informs me neither British General Federation Trade Unions or Jouhaux of Confederation Generale Du Travail France have been consulted in calling or preparing for or participating in the conference your party has called. How can American Federation of Labor regard such a conference as representing labor.

Our delegates will attend London conference labor representatives of allied countries beginning September 10. Delegates are John Golden, James Lord.

GOMPERS

WM London 50

GOMPERS,

AFEL, Washington.

Allied conference August 28 representatives political parties entente nations. Your federation invited most representative organization

American labor. Can not exclude American socialist party. Labor party Trade Union Congress represent British organized labor. General federation membership covered excepts 76,000, see congress report, 1916, pages 3-10.

HENDERSON

Aug. 17.

April, 1915

From time to time, the correspondence between the American Federation of Labor and the labor movements of other countries has been published in the *American Federationist*. Because of an attempt to pervert our position in regard to the Inter-Allied Conference held in London February, 1918, it is proper that the documents should be available to all.

A letter from the representative of the British Labor Party invited the A. F. of L. to send representatives to the conference.

Our country being at war, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. deemed it necessary to declare the position of the American labor movement supplementary to the positive and emphatic declarations of the Buffalo Convention of the A. F. of L. Having the invitation before the Council, it prepared and it adopted the statement as published in the last issue of the *American Federationist*, March, 1918, under the caption, "Labor's War Aims," and all whom it may concern and are interested are asked to re-read that declaration.

Inter-Allied Conference.

The following is Mr. Henderson's invitation. The italicized type in it is ours :

1, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W. 1.
16th January, 1918.

DEAR GOMPERS: On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the National Executive of the Labour Party I have the pleasure to send you herewith particulars as to the conditions under which we are calling an Inter-Allied Conference to commence in *London on 20th February, 1918*

We trust it will be possible for the American Federation of Labour to be represented; for in addition to considering the British War Aims and any amendments thereto sent in on behalf of the respective countries, there is to be considered the very important question as to *whether the time has arrived when we should hold an International Conference.*

A third most important question will be the arrangements to be made for working class representation in connection with any official peace conference. Even if your Federation does not quite agree with the two committees responsible for organizing the Inter-Allied Conference, it would be desirable that your representatives, and especially yourself, were present to put the American point of view.

We have had a request from the American Socialists, but the two committees have decided that your Federation was the only body to be invited to this conference to represent America. I shall esteem it a favour, therefore, if you will give this matter your sympathetic consideration and let me know as early as possible any decision you may reach.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Henderson's letter was received at the A. F. of L. office *late February 9*. The authority vested with the right to choose representatives of the A. F. of L. is the convention, or, in the interim of convention, the E. C. of the A. F. of L. As the E. C. was to begin its quarterly session in Washington February 10 the

letter was held for consideration and action during that meeting. On February 11 the Council considered the invitation extended by British labor to send representatives to participate in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference to be held in London February 20. As it was evident there was not sufficient time in which representatives could reach London before the beginning of the conference, the Council with regret decided that it was impossible to participate in that conference. In accord with that action the following cablegram was sent:

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 18, 1918

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
Victoria Street,
London.

Your January sixteen letter reached me late Saturday, February nine, and brought to attention Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, in session on eleventh. *We regret that circumstances make impossible to be represented in the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, London, February twentieth.*

Executive Council in declaration unanimously declared, "We can not meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us."

All should be advised that anyone presuming to represent Labor of America in your conference is simply self-constituted and unrepresentative.

We hope shortly to send delegation of representative workers American labor movement to England and to France.

Please convey our fraternal greetings to the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assure them that we are pledged and will give our manpower and at least half we have in wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom and democracy.

GOMPERS

Upon the day that the cablegram was sent it was given to the press in Washington. Some representative of the press in New York cabled the message over to British papers. Simultaneously with the deliberations of the conference to which the cablegram was transmitted, British papers published a cablegram purporting to be sent by the President of the A. F. of L., in which the following sentence had been injected: "American labor believes German influences have inspired the London conference and until this is disproved will avoid the conference."

When the matter came to the attention of the Allied Labor Conference in London, the conference directed its Publicity Committee to publish the text of the cablegram as received from President Gompers, and also sent the following cablegram to him:

LONDON, Feb. 25, 1918

GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington.

Press in this country circulating statement, your alleged authority, that American labour believes German influences inspire the London conferences. Nothing of this appears your telegram to us. We feel sure you will resent gross falsification your message. Apparently part of campaign malicious misrepresentation on part enemies of labour. Trust you will dissociate your federation from statement which is wholly untrue.

ALBERT THOMAS, *President*
ARTHUR E. HENDERON, *Secy*

Owing to important official engagements which necessitated absence from Washington, and to official duties that could not be deferred, reply to the telegram could not be made immediately, and in any event it would not be sent or received during the sessions of the conference, for it had already adjourned. The following reply was made:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 13, 1918*

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
London.

Your letter January sixteen inviting delegation American Federation of Labor participate in London conference February twenty, reached me February nine. Authority to designate delegates of the American labor movement vested in convention American Federation of Labor or in Executive Council during interim.

Executive Council in session February eleven *with regret found it impossible to send representatives because insufficient time to reach London.*

We cabled this fact and fraternal greetings to Inter-Allied Labor Conference and assurance that American people are united in struggle for world justice and freedom.

American Federation of Labor responsible only for cable sent you by its representatives and not for cablegram garbled in press.

American labor glad to meet with representatives labor movements of allied countries but refuses to meet representatives of the labor movements of enemy countries while they are fighting against democracy and world freedom.

In the gigantic task to destroy autocracy there must be hearty cooperation among workers and we hope nothing will interfere with complete understanding and good-will between workers of America and allied countries.

A delegation representing American labor will shortly visit England and France to encourage, confer and cooperate in furtherance of the cause of labor and world democracy. Am sending identical cablegram to Albert Thomas, France.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

An identical cablegram was sent to Albert Thomas of France.

International Labor Missions

There are now in the United States four representatives of the British labor movement. The correspondence which led to the appointment of this mission follows:

OFFICE OF THE WAR CABINET,
2, Whitehall Gardens,
S. W. 1.

October, 1917

DEAR MR. GOMPERS:

The cabinet of the British government have learnt with much satisfaction that the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress has invited you to come over to this country. As representative of Labour on the Cabinet, I take pleasure in associating myself with such invitation and express the hope that you may be able to accept it.

I know that the government here would be very glad if you could come and could assist in putting the view of the United States of America in regard to the war. Our people we believe are quite sound, but necessarily, after three years of war, are all the better for a little stimulation now and again, which I know you can well give.

With best wishes for a successful conference next month.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE H. BARNES

S. GOMPERS, Esq.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 6, 1917

MR. GEORGE H. BARNES,
Member of the British Cabinet,
London, England.

MY DEAR MR. BARNES:

YOUR letter dated October 1st was received by me while I was in Buffalo, New York, attending the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Owing to the great pressure of the work of that convention, I was unable to make reply to your letter and, therefore, it was held until my return to Washington and this is the first opportunity I have had to write you.

I beg to assure you of my great appreciation of the desire manifested by the Cabinet of the British government for me to visit England. If I consulted my wishes and desires, I would immediately undertake the trip. However, no matter how much I may desire to avail myself of the opportunity thus presented, yet, I feel that for the present, at least, it is essential that I should remain in this country.

A year ago, it was urged that I should visit Japan. A representative of the Labor's Friendly Society of Japan came to this country and extended a formal invitation to me which was afterwards repeated by letter and cable but I felt then as I feel now, that it would be unwise for me to undertake any trip that would necessitate my leaving the United States for the present.

You might be interested in knowing that after the close of our Buffalo Convention, upon the invitation of Sir William Hearst, the Premier of Ontario, supplemented by his Honor, the Mayor of Toronto, other government officials and the representatives of labor of that city, I visited Toronto and delivered an address in the interest of the Canadian Victory Loan. I considered it a privilege to be able to render this service to our friends across the border and to our allies in this titanic struggle for the maintenance of freedom and democracy of the world.

With assurances of my high regards and reciprocating your good wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor

LONDON, January 3

GOMPERS,

AFEL, Washington.

Letters received. Would you invite small delegation of labour men from here to come over and tour U. S. A.? We think it would be useful. I could send you about three of our best men. Best wishes. Happy New Year.

BARNES

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 5, 1918

HON. GEORGE BARNES,
Member War Cabinet,
London, England.

If small group of true British trade unionists could be sent to tour United States it would be helpful to our common cause. It would be most helpful if they could be in the United States before the end of the first week in February.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS

* Feb. 10 was the beginning of "Labor's Loyalty Campaign."

LONDON,
January 9, 1918

GOMPERS,

AFEL, Washington.

Am sending Duncan, Appleton, Brownlie and another to United States. They will reach before the end of first week in February.

BARNES

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 9, 1918

W. A. APPLETON, *Secretary,*
General Federation of Trades Unions,
Hamilton House, Bidborough St.,
London, England.

Am gratified that you and a number of other representative British labor men are coming to United States. You and they will find hearty greeting and cooperation.

The declaration of December twenty-eight, British labor conferences at Westminster is in essential principles identical with declarations of November convention American Federation of Labor at Buffalo.

The Lloyd George declarations last week to the man-power conference and those of President Wilson yesterday to the American Congress are in accord upon the vital issues and aims in this war.

Thus the official representatives of our governments and of the labor movements of our respective countries have expressed the will and purpose of the people, the governments and the workers of Great Britain and America.

If any call should be issued for an international conference of workers of *all countries* of the world, the American Federation of Labor will not participate. The people of Germany must establish democracy within their own domain and make opportunity for international relations that life shall be secure, that the people of all countries may live their own lives and work out their own salvation and unless this has been accomplished by the German people themselves the allied democracies in this struggle must crush militarism and autocracy and bring a new freedom to the whole world, the people of Germany included.

Until these essentials are accomplished an international labor conference with the representatives of the workers of all countries, Germany included, is prejudicial to a desirable and lasting peace.

GOMPERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 12, 1918

HON. GEORGE BARNES,
Member War Cabinet,
London, England.

American Council of National Defense passed resolution expressing pleasure and satisfaction that group of representative trade unionists will visit the United States in the interests of our common cause in the war and extends cordial and hearty welcome to the mission.

GOMPERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 19, 1918.

HON. GEORGE BARNES,
Member of War Cabinet,
London, England.

Kindly advise labor men coming to us to telegraph me as soon as they reach an American or Canadian port the time they are expected to arrive in New York.

GOMPERS.

This mission consists of the following trade unionists:

W. A. Appleton, Secretary, General Federation of Trades Unions, 800,000 members.

Chas. Duncan, Workers' Union, 250,000 members.

Joshua Butterworth, Associated Shipwrights' Society, 33,000 members.

William Mosses, Patternmakers, Secretary the Advisory Labor Committee, Munitions Ministry, 7,000 members.

Upon urgent insistence that the A. F. of L. select a mission of representative American workers to visit Great Britain and possibly France, the matter was brought to the attention of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and the proposal was approved and endorsed.

The mission* is to convey to the workers and to the people generally of Great Britain and of France, a message of good-will, of fraternity and cooperation of the labor movement of America, of its spirit and of the spirit of the people of our Republic to maintain unity and solidarity of the workers and the people of our allied countries to carry out our common aims and purposes to win the war for justice, freedom and democracy and to present to all with whom the mission may come in contact the continued straightforward position of the A. F. of L. since the beginning of the European war and from the time of the entrance of the United States in the world conflict.

The following representatives of the American labor movement are to go to Great Britain and to France to convey that message and carry out that purpose:

James Wilson, President, Patternmakers' League of North America.

William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists.

George L. Berry, President, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union.

Martin F. Ryan, President, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

John P. Frey, Editor official journal, International Molders' Union.

Miss Melinda Scott, President, Straw Hat Trimmers' and Operatives' Union.

Miss Agnes Nestor, Vice-President, Glove Workers' International Union.

William Short, President, Washington, State Federation of Labor.

Chester M. Wright, Director, Publicity Department, American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, member International Typographical Union.

Russia

When it was plainly evident that despite the humiliating and destructive so-called peace treaty which was forced by the German military government upon the Russian people was to be totally disregarded except as a scrap of

*The report of this mission is published on pages 104-122 of this volume.

paper, and that the German military hordes were bent upon an invasion of Russia and the destruction of Russian independence, the following cablegram was sent:

NEW YORK, *March 1, 1918*

TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE:

Russian militarism and brutality menaces free Russia now as never before. Just as it would despoil all free countries, so now the German military machine is sweeping on, despoiling vast sweeps of Russian territory. The clear object of Germany is the destruction of Russian freedom and the annexation of a great area of Russian territory.

German autocracy is the great, unscrupulous enemy of all free peoples. Democracy can not live anywhere unless this autocracy is crushed. Democracy everywhere must sweep back the German tyrants in defeat.

The American people understand the German plan. They have pledged everything they possess to defeat it for freedom's sake. With all other free people they have been shocked, but not surprised at the duplicity of Germany in its dealings with Russia. Now that the German mask is off entirely and the German armies are marching over Russian soil to conquer and hold, the free people of America send a message of encouragement to the free Russians. We say, rally to the struggle against autocracy. Only armed force can meet the German hordes. The working people of America are with you and with all free peoples in the common struggle for freedom and its boundless opportunities. Hold the line! Rise in all your might and strike for your home, your lives, your liberties. The democracies of the world, determined to maintain freedom, can not be beaten if they stand firmly together.

We, the working people of America, call across the world to you to pledge again our whole strength in the common struggle for humanity. Stand with us to the end for the right of all peoples to be free. Stand with us to win this war against enslaving and debasing autocracy. We sent you cheer and our pledge of high resolve and fixed purpose. Let the free peoples of the world stand shoulder to shoulder for the defeat of militarism, autocracy and the enslaving of the human race.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The friends of Russian freedom awaited anxiously the Congress of Russian Soveits which was called to meet in Moscow, March 13, in the hope that that body would find a constructive method of dealing with the dangers that beset the Russian revolution from without as well as disintegration threatened from within. In order that the workers of Russia might have the cheer and support of the sympathy and good-will of the workers of the United States, the following cablegram was sent:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 12, 1918*

ALL RUSSIAN SOVIETS, MOSCOW.

We address you in the name of world liberty. We assure you that the people of the United States are pained by every blow at Russian freedom, as they would be by a blow at their own.

The American people desire to be of service to the Russian people in their struggle to safeguard freedom and realize its opportunities. We desire to be informed as to how we may help.

We speak for a great organized movement of working people who are devoted to the cause of freedom and the ideals of democracy. We assure you also that the whole American nation ardently desires to be

helpful to Russia and awaits with eagerness an indication from Russia as to how help may most effectively be extended.

To all those who strive for freedom we say Courage. Justice must triumph if all free people stand united against autocracy. We await your suggestions.

SAMUEL GOMPERS

The situation in so far as Labor is concerned is indicated in the correspondence published above. The newspapers carried cablegrams from England that another labor mission is to come to the United States, but up to this writing the only message received at the office of the A. F. of L. from any other source stating or intimating that such a mission is projected or under way is the following cablegram from the Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail:

PARIS, *March 21st, 1918*

GOMPERS,
Washington, D. C.

I desire to make on the part of the working class delegation coming to America, to express to you satisfaction at our meeting soon.

JOUHAUX

Declaration of Principles of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference

The Inter-allied Labor Conference held in London, September 17, 18 and 19, 1918, adopted the following declaration of principles proposed by the American Federation of Labor delegates:

We recognize in this World War the conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions; the contest between the principles of self-development through free institutions and that of arbitrary control of government by groups or individuals for selfish ends.

It is therefore essential that the peoples and the governments of all countries should have a full and definite knowledge of the spirit and determination of this Inter-allied Conference, representative of the workers of our respective countries, with reference to the prosecution of the War.

We declare it to be our unqualified determination to do all that lies within our power to assist our allied countries in the marshalling of all of their resources to the end that the armed forces of the Central Powers may be driven from the soil of the nations which they have invaded and now occupy; and, furthermore, that these armed forces shall be opposed so long as they carry out the orders or respond to the control of the militaristic autocratic government of the Central Powers which now threaten the existence of all self-governing people.

This Conference endorses the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson as conditions upon which peace between the belligerent nations may be established and maintained, as follows:—

(1)

Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

(2)

Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

(3)

The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to peace and associating itself for its maintenance.

(4)

Adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

(5)

A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

(6)

The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-opera-

tion of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.

The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs, as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

(7)

Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve, as this will serve, to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

(8)

All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly 50 years, should be righted in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

(9)

A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

(10)

The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

(11)

Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, the occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

(12)

The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

(13)

An independent Polish State should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

(14)

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

The world is requiring tremendous sacrifices of all the peoples. Because of their response in defense of principles of freedom the peoples have earned the right to wipe out all vestiges of the old idea that the government belongs to or constitutes a "governing class." In determining issues that will vitally affect the lives and welfare of millions of wage-earners, justice requires that they should have direct representation in the agencies authorized to make such decisions. We therefore declare that—

In the official delegations from each of the belligerent countries which will formulate the Peace Treaty, the Workers should have direct official representation:

We declare in favour of a World Labor Congress to be held at the same time and place as the Peace Conference that will formulate the Peace Treaty closing the War.

We declare that the following essentially fundamental principles must underlie the Peace Treaty:

A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

No reprisals based upon purely vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the Treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the War, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labour of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbour.

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

Trial by jury should be established.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.
JOHN P. FREY
CHARLES L. BAINÉ.
WILLIAM A. BOWEN
EDGAR WALLACE

Delegates

(INSERTED)

American Federationist, August, 1918

*LABOR LEGISLATION IN MEXICO**Importance of International Labor Organization*

By YGNACIO BONILLAS, Ambassador from Mexico

The present Constitutional Government of Mexico emanated from the revolution headed by Venustiano Carranza, incorporated in the new constitution, promulgated on February 5, 1917, the most advanced labor legislation in the world, along the lines adopted by New Zealand.

Article 123 of the new constitution, relative to labor and social welfare, is a beacon light in the history of labor legislation, and properly might be called, the Declaration of Independence of the Mexican Laborer, a synopsis of which, published in the Latin-American Year Book, 1918, is herein given:

Labor Legislation

"The new Constitution provides that Congress and the legislatures of the states shall regulate labor matters, provided all legislation adopted is along the following lines: A maximum day's work of 8 hours in the daytime and 7 hours in nighttime. In unhealthy and dangerous occupations, also in night work and for children of 12 to 16 years, the working day must be six hours. Labor of children under 12 is forbidden. A day of rest for each six days is established. Liberal provisions are adopted in reference to the work of married women for the protection of their children. Minimum wages shall be fixed according to local conditions. Workmen will have the right to a part of the profits. Equal wages are established for both sexes and all nationalities. The minimum wage can not be subject to discount or rebate. All wages are to be paid in legal money. Overtime shall be paid at double price and under no circumstances more than three hours overtime is allowed. No overtime is permitted for women or children under 16. Employers in agricultural, mining or any other enterprise are compelled to furnish healthy and comfortable lodgings for the workmen and the rent charged them can not exceed 6 per cent a year of the assessed value of the building. Employers are also obliged to furnish schools, hospitals, markets, etc., when necessary, and are forbidden to open bar rooms and gambling places for their workmen. They are liable for accidents and illness. The adoption in shops and factories, of sanitary conditions and devices for the prevention of accidents, is compulsory. Both employe and employers have the right to associate for the defense of their interests. The law recognizes the right to strike and lockout. Strikes are forbidden when brought by acts of violence or in case of war, when affecting government services. Military establishments, however, are under military law. Lockouts are only recognized when necessary, because of an excess in the production. Boards of conciliation and arbitration are established for the settlement of all labor differences. Arbitration of labor difficulties is compulsory. Employers refusing to arbitrate are liable to pay their workmen three months salary. Workmen refusing to arbitrate will, by their refusal, forfeit their rights as per their contracts. Debts for wages are preferent. Employes shall not be required to pay agents commission for obtaining position for them.

"No labor contract is valid if it provides for a longer working day than allowed, or if the wage is exceedingly low; if payments are not made at least every week; if payments are made in a pleasure resort so that workmen are liable to spend their wages immediately there. The workmen can not be compelled, either directly or indirectly, to buy from certain merchants. Wages can not be held under the pretext of fines. No contract is valid if the workmen forfeit therein their right to indemnity and compensation for accidents or damages."

Labor Conditions

Before the present government was firmly established in Mexico, labor conditions were very unsettled, and, in fact, caused by labor unrest bordering desperation.

The new government, therefore, as soon as the military situation was under control, undertook a radical reform in the labor system of the country, adopting as a base for its program, the most advanced principles governing labor in its relation with capital.

Labor conditions were very peculiar. There was a labor shortage all over the country. Wages, however, were small and the conditions of the working people were decidedly bad. The relations between capital and labor in the industrial centers were strained to the breaking point. The industrial organization followed the system of the old European capitalism, made worse still, because it was imposed on a laboring class much weaker than in Europe, since it was unorganized and not very advanced in civilization.

The new government decided boldly to solve the troubles by a radical reorganization, in the belief that at the present time when industries were just beginning development, it would be much easier to undertake a complete change, than later, when larger interests would have been created, which would become a serious obstacle in the way to reformation and improvement.

As a positive proof of the interest taken by the laboring classes in Mexico, may be cited the assembling of labor conventions throughout the Republic, in which the states of Senora, Yucatan, Coahuila, Vera-cruz, and Pueblo have taken the lead to initiate legislation and to promote national organization and friendly relations of Pan-American character, especially with national organizations of labor in the United States, where thousands of Mexican laborers are at work in the farms, with the railroads and other industrial enterprises.

The contiguity of Mexico and the United States, the vast amount of American capital invested in Mexico and the facilities of inter-communication have brought about an interchange of laboring elements, whose conditions have necessarily incited a deep interest among the labor organizations of both countries, as shown by the special commissions sent out to study and report upon the organization, purposes, ideals and achievements of the working people concerned.

To the wage earners who constitute the vast majorities in both nations this intermingling process is of great mutual importance, as the intercourse will lead to an intimate knowledge of their conditions and to concerted action as to the most practical solution of the problems affecting their collective rights and duties.

The action of organized labor, properly directed, more than any other agency, should represent the genuine expression of the will of the majorities. To organized concerted labor action, therefore, must we turn for assistance to the strengthening of relations which make for international comity, peace and fraternity.

Neighbors we shall always be, consequently, our bounden duty as such is to promote good feeling, just, kindly and neighborly relations.

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM.

The world war has forced all free peoples to a fuller and deeper realization of the menace to civilization contained in autocratic control of the activities and destinies of mankind.

It has caused a world-wide determination to overthrow and eradicate all autocratic institutions, so that a full measure of freedom and justice can be established between man and man and nation and nation.

It has awakened more fully the consciousness that the principles of democracy should regulate the relationship of men in all their activities.

It has opened the doors of opportunity through which more sound and progressive policies may enter.

New conceptions of human liberty, justice and opportunity are to be applied.

The American Federation of Labor, the one organization representing Labor in America, conscious that its responsibilities are now greater than before, presents a program for the guidance of Labor, based upon experience and formulated with a full consciousness of the principles and policies which have successfully guided American trade unionism in the past.

DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY

Two codes of rules and regulations affect the workers; the law upon the statute books, and the rules within industry.

The first determines their relationship as citizens to all other citizens and to property.

The second largely determines the relationship of employer and employe, the terms of employment, the conditions of labor, and the rules and regulations affecting the workers as employes. The first is secured through the application of the methods of democracy in the enactment of legislation, and is based upon the principle that the laws which govern a free people should exist only with their consent.

The second, except where effective trade unionism exists, is established by the arbitrary or autocratic whim, desire or opinion of the employer and is based upon the principle

that industry and commerce can not be successfully conducted unless the employer exercises the unquestioned right to establish such rules, regulations and provisions affecting the employes as self-interest prompts.

Both forms of law vitally affect the workers' opportunities in life and determine their standard of living. The rules, regulations and conditions within industry in many instances affect them more than legislative enactments. It is, therefore, essential that the workers should have a voice in determining the laws within industry and commerce which affect them, equivalent to the voice which they have as citizens in determining the legislative enactments which shall govern them.

It is as inconceivable that the workers as free citizens should remain under autocratically made law within industry and commerce as it is that the nation could remain a democracy while certain individuals or groups exercise autocratic powers.

It is, therefore, essential that the workers everywhere should insist upon their right to organize into trade unions, and that effective legislation should be enacted which would make it a criminal offense for any employer to interfere with or hamper the exercise of this right or to interfere with the legitimate activities of trade unions.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Political economy of the old school, conceived by doctrinaires, was based upon unsound and false doctrines, and has since been used to blindfold, deceive and defeat the workers' demands for adequate wages, better living and working conditions, and a just share of the fruits of their labor.

We hold strictly to the trade union philosophy and its developed political economy based upon demonstrated facts.

Unemployment is due to underconsumption. Underconsumption is caused by low or insufficient wages.

Just wages will prevent industrial stagnation and lessen periodical unemployment.

Give the workers just wages and their consuming capacity is correspondingly increased. A man's ability to consume is controlled by the wages received. Just wages will create a market at home which will far surpass any market that may exist elsewhere and will lessen unemployment.

The employment of idle workmen on public work will

not permanently remove the cause of unemployment. It is an expedient at best.

There is no basis in fact for the claim that the so-called law of supply and demand is natural in its operations and impossible of control or regulation.

The trade union movement has maintained standards, wages, hours and life in periods of industrial depression and idleness. These in themselves are a refutation of the declared immutability of the law of supply and demand.

There is in fact no such condition as an iron law of wages based upon a natural law of supply and demand. Conditions in commerce and industry, methods of production, storing of commodities, regulation of the volume of production, banking systems, the flow and direction of enterprise influenced by combinations and trusts have effectively destroyed the theory of a natural law of supply and demand as had been formulated by doctrinaire economists.

WAGES

There are no means whereby the workers can obtain and maintain fair wages except through trade union effort. Therefore, economic organization is paramount to all their other activities.

Organization of the workers leads to better wages, fewer working hours, improved working conditions; it develops independence, manhood and character; it fosters tolerance and real justice and makes for a constantly growing better economic, social and political life for the burden-bearing masses.

In countries where wages are best, the greatest progress has been made in economic, social and political advancement, in science, art, literature, education, and in the wealth of the people generally. All low wage-paying countries contrasted with America is proof for this statement.

The American standard of life must be maintained and improved. The value of wages is determined by the purchasing power of the dollar. There is no such thing as good wages when the cost of living in decency and comfort equals or exceeds the wages received. There must be no reduction in wages; in many instances wages must be increased.

The workers of the nation demand a living wage for all wage-earners, skilled or unskilled—a wage which will enable

the worker and his family to live in health and comfort, provide a competence for illness and old age, and afford to all the opportunity of cultivating the best that is within mankind.

HOURS OF LABOR

Reasonable hours of labor promote the economic and social well-being of the toiling masses. Their attainment should be one of Labor's principal and essential activities. The shorter workday and a shorter work week make for a constantly growing, higher and better standard of productivity, health, longevity, morals and citizenship.

The right of Labor to fix its hours of work must not be abrogated, abridged or interfered with.

The day's working time should be limited to not more than eight hours, with overtime prohibited, except under the most extraordinary emergencies. The week's working time should be limited to not more than five and one-half days.

WOMEN AS WAGE-EARNERS

Women should receive the same pay as men for equal work performed. Women workers must not be permitted to perform tasks disproportionate to their physical strength or which tend to impair their potential motherhood and prevent the continuation of a nation of strong, healthy, sturdy and intelligent men and women.

CHILD LABOR

The children constitute the nation's most valuable asset. The full responsibility of the government should be recognized by such measures as will protect the health of every child at birth and during its immature years.

It must be one of the chief functions of the nation through effective legislation to put an immediate end to the exploitation of children under sixteen years of age.

State legislatures should protect children of immature years by prohibiting their employment, for gain, under sixteen years of age and restricting the employment of children of less than eighteen years of age to not more than twenty hours within any one week and with not less than twenty hours at school during the same period.

Exploitation of child life for private gain must not be permitted.

STATUS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

The fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor for public employes by legislation hampers the necessary exercise of organization and collective bargaining.

Public employes must not be denied the right of organization, free activities and collective bargaining and must not be limited in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

COOPERATION

To attain the greatest possible development of civilization, it is essential, among other things, that the people should never delegate to others those activities and responsibilities which they are capable of assuming for themselves. Democracy can function best with the least interference by the state compatible with due protection to the rights of all citizens.

There are many problems arising from production, transportation and distribution, which would be readily solved by applying the methods of cooperation. Unnecessary middlemen who exact a tax from the community without rendering any useful service can be eliminated.

The farmers through cooperative dairies, canneries, packing houses, grain elevators, distributing houses, and other cooperative enterprises, can secure higher prices for their products and yet place these in the consumer's hands at lower prices than would otherwise be paid. There is an almost limitless field for the consumers in which to establish cooperative buying and selling, and in this most necessary development, the trade unionists should take an immediate and active part.

Trade unions secure fair wages. Cooperation protects the wage-earner from the profiteer.

Participation in these cooperative agencies must of necessity prepare the mass of the people to participate more effectively in the solution of the industrial, commercial, social and political problems which continually arise.

THE PEOPLE'S FINAL VOICE IN LEGISLATION

It is manifestly evident that a people are not self-governing unless they enjoy the unquestioned power to determine the form and substance of the laws which shall govern them. Self-government can not adequately function if there exists

within the nation a superior power or authority which can finally determine what legislation enacted by the people, or their duly elected representatives, shall be placed upon the statute books and what shall be declared null and void.

An insuperable obstacle to self-government in the United States exists in the power which has been gradually assumed by the Supreme Courts of the Federal and State governments, to declare legislation null and void upon the ground that, in the court's opinion, it is unconstitutional.

It is essential that the people, acting directly or through Congress or state legislatures, should have final authority in determining which laws shall be enacted. Adequate steps must be taken, therefore, which will provide that in the event of a supreme court declaring an act of Congress or of a state legislature unconstitutional and the people acting directly or through Congress or a state legislature should reenact the measure, it shall then become the law without being subject to annulment by any court.

POLITICAL POLICY

In the political efforts, arising from the workers' necessity to secure legislation covering those conditions and provisions of life not subject to collective bargaining with employers, organized labor has followed two methods; one by organizing political parties, the other by the determination to place in public office representatives from their ranks; to elect those who favor and champion the legislation desired and to defeat those whose policy is opposed to Labor's legislative demands, regardless of partisan politics.

The disastrous experience of organized labor in America with political parties of its own, amply justified the American Federation of Labor's non-partisan political policy. The results secured by labor parties in other countries never have been such as to warrant any deviation from this position. The rules and regulations of trade unionism should not be extended so that the action of a majority could force a minority to vote for or give financial support to any political candidate or party to whom they are opposed. Trade union activities can not receive the undivided attention of members and officers if the exigencies, burdens and responsibilities of a political party are bound up with their economic and industrial organizations.

The experiences and results attained through the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor cover a generation. They indicate that through its application the workers of America have secured a much larger measure of fundamental legislation, establishing their rights, safeguarding their interests, protecting their welfare and opening the doors of opportunity than have been secured by the workers of any other country.

The vital legislation now required can be more readily secured through education of the public mind and the appeal to its conscience, supplemented by energetic independent political activity on the part of trade unionists, than by any other method. This is and will continue to be the political policy of the American Federation of Labor if the lessons which Labor has learned in the bitter but practical school of experience are to be respected and applied.

It is, therefore, most essential that the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the affiliated organizations, state federations and central labor bodies and the entire membership of the trade union movement should give the most vigorous application possible to the political policy of the A. F. of L. so that Labor's friends and opponents may be more widely known, and the legislation most required readily secured. This phase of our movement is still in its infancy. It should be continued and developed to its logical conclusion.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Public and semi-public utilities should be owned, operated or regulated by the government in the interest of the public.

Whatever final disposition shall be made of the railways of the country in ownership, management or regulation, we insist upon the right of the workers to organize for their common and mutual protection and the full exercise of the normal activities which come with organization. Any attempt at the denial by governmental authority of the rights of the workers to organize, to petition, to representation and to collective bargaining, or the denial of the exercise of their political rights is repugnant to the fundamental principles of free citizenship in a republic and is destructive of their best interest and welfare.

The government should own and operate all wharves and docks connected with public harbors which are used for commerce or transportation.

The American Merchant Marine should be encouraged and developed under governmental control and so manned as to insure successful operation and protect in full the beneficent laws now on the statute books for the rights and welfare of seamen. The seamen must be accorded the same rights and privileges rightfully exercised by the workers in all other employments, public and private.

WATER WAYS AND WATER POWER

The lack of a practical development of our waterways and the inadequate extension of canals have seriously handicapped water traffic and created unnecessarily high cost for transportation. In many instances it has established artificial restrictions which have worked to the serious injury of communities, owing to the schemes of those controlling a monopoly of land transportation. Our navigable rivers and our great inland lakes should be connected with the sea by an adequate system of canals, so that inland production can be more effectively fostered, the costs of transportation reduced, the private monopoly of transportation overcome and imports and exports shipped at lower costs.

The nation is possessed of enormous water power. Legislation should be enacted providing that the governments, federal and state, should own, develop and operate all water power over which they have jurisdiction. The power thus generated should be supplied to all citizens at rates based upon cost. The water power of the nation, created by nature, must not be permitted to pass into private hands for private exploitation.

REGULATION OF LAND OWNERSHIP

Agriculture and stock-raising are essential to national safety and well-being. The history of all countries, at all times, indicates that the conditions which create a tenant class of agriculturists work increasing injury to the tillers of the soil. While increasing the price of the product to the consumer these conditions at the same time develop a class of large land owners who contribute little, if anything, to the welfare of the community but who exact a continually in-

creasing share of the wealth produced by the tenant. The private ownership of large tracts of usable land is not conducive to the best interests of a democratic people.

Legislation should be enacted placing a graduated tax upon all usable lands above the acreage which is cultivated by the owner. This should include provisions through which the tenant farmer, or others, may purchase land upon the lowest rate of interest and most favorable terms consistent with safety, and so safeguarded by governmental supervision and regulation as to give the fullest and freest opportunity for the development of land-owning agriculturists.

Special assistance should be given in the direction of allotments of lands and the establishment of homes on the public domain.

Establishment of government experimental farms, measures for stock raising-instruction, the irrigation of arid lands and reclamation of swamp and cut-over lands should be undertaken upon a larger scale under direction of the Federal government.

Municipalities and states should be empowered to acquire lands for cultivation or the erection of residential buildings which they may use or dispose of under equitable terms.

FEDERAL AND STATE REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS

The creation by legislative enactment of corporations, without sufficient definition of the powers and scope of activities conferred upon them and without provisions for their adequate supervision, regulation and control by the creative body, has led to the development of far-reaching abuses which have seriously affected commerce, industry and the masses of the people through their influence upon social, industrial commercial and political development. Legislation is required which will so limit, define and regulate the powers, privileges and activities of corporations that their methods can not become detrimental to the welfare of the people. It is, therefore, essential that legislation should provide for the federal licensing of all corporations organized for profit. Furthermore, federal supervision and control should include the increasing of capital stock and the incurring of bonded indebtedness with the provision that the books of all corporations shall be open at all times to federal examiners.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION

The very life and perpetuity of free and democratic institutions are dependent upon freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage and association. We insist that all restrictions of freedom of speech, press, public assembly, association and travel be completely removed, individuals and groups being responsible for their utterances. These fundamental rights must be set out with clearness and must not be denied or abridged in any manner.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's Compensation laws should be amended to provide more adequately for those incapacitated by industrial accidents or occupational diseases. To assure that the insurance fund derived from commerce and industry will be paid in full to injured workers, state insurance must supplant, and prohibit the existence of, employers' liability insurance operated for profit.

IMMIGRATION

Americanization of those coming from foreign lands, as well as our standards of education and living, are vitally affected by the volume and character of the immigration.

It is essential that additional legislation regulating immigration should be enacted based upon two fundamental propositions, namely, that the flow of immigration must not at any time exceed the nation's ability to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners coming to our shores, and that at no time shall immigration be permitted when there exists an abnormal degree of unemployment,

By reason of existing conditions we urge that immigration into the United States should be prohibited for a period of at least two years after peace has been declared.

TAXATION

One of the nation's most valuable assets is the initiative, energetic, constructive and inventive genius of its people. These qualities when properly applied should be fostered and protected instead of being hampered by legislation, for they constitute an invaluable element of progress and material development. Taxation should, therefore, rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Taxation should

provide for full contribution from wealth by a tax upon profits which will not discourage industrial or commercial enterprise. There should be provided a progressive increase in taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and upon land values of such a nature as to render it unprofitable to hold land without putting it to use, to afford a transition to greater economic quality and to supply means of liquidating the national indebtedness growing out of the war.

EDUCATION

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many states, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several states and communities. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed.

It is also important that the industrial education which is being fostered and developed should have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society. A full understanding must be had of those principles and activities that are the foundation of all productive efforts. Children should not only become familiar with tools and materials, but they should also receive a thorough knowledge of the principles of human control, of force and matter underlying our industrial relations and sciences. The danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that the workers shall have equal representation on all boards of education or committees having control over vocational studies and training.

To elevate and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote popular and democratic education, the right of the teachers to organize and to affiliate with the movement of the organized workers must be recognized.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Essentials in industry and commerce are employe and employer, labor and capital. No one questions the right of organized capital to supply capital to employers. No one should question the right of organized labor to furnish workers. Private employment agencies abridge this right of organized labor.

Where federal, state and municipal employment agencies are maintained they should operate under the supervision of joint committees of trade unionists and employers, equally represented.

Private employment agencies operated for profit should not be permitted to exist.

HOUSING

Child life, the workers' physical condition and public health demand that the wage-earner and his family shall be given a full opportunity to live under wholesome conditions. It is not only necessary that there shall be sanitary and appropriate houses to live in but that a sufficient number of dwellings shall be available to free the people from high rents and overcrowding.

The ownership of homes, free from the grasp of exploitive and speculative interests, will make for more efficient workers, more contented families, and better citizens. The government should, therefore, inaugurate a plan to build model homes and establish a system of credits whereby the workers may borrow money at a low rate of interest and under favorable terms to build their own homes. Credit should also be extended to voluntary non-profit making housing and joint tenancy associations. States and municipalities should be freed from the restrictions preventing their undertaking proper housing projects and should be permitted to engage in other necessary enterprises relating thereto. The erection and maintenance of dwellings where migratory workers may find lodging and nourishing food during periods of unemployment should be encouraged and supported by municipalities.

If need should arise to expend public funds to relieve unemployment the building of wholesome houses would best serve the public interests.

MILITARISM

The trade union movement is unalterably and emphatically opposed to "militarism" or a large standing army. "Militarism," is a system fostered and developed by tyrants in the hope of supporting their arbitrary authority. It is utilized by those whose selfish ambitions for power and wordly glory lead them to invade and subdue other peoples and nations, to destroy their liberties, to acquire their wealth and to fasten the yoke of bondage upon them. The trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that "militarism" brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. The finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under "militarism" a deceptive patriotism is established in the peoples' minds, where men believe that there is nobility of spirit and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democracy. "Militarism" is the application of arbitrary and irresponsible forces as opposed to reason and justice. Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The free institutions of our country and the liberties won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to take arms and if necessary die in the defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions.

Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A voluntary citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army. To the latter we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish the evils of "militarism." Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our states, has given cause at times for grave apprehension. Their ranks have not always been free from undesir-

able elements, particularly the tools of corporations involved in industrial disputes. During industrial disputes the militia has at times been called upon to support the authority of those who through selfish interests desired to enforce martial law while the courts were open and the civil authorities competent to maintain supremacy of civil law. We insist that the militia of our several states should be wholly organized and controlled by democratic principles so that this voluntary force of soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose and used to jeopardize or infringe upon the rights and liberties of our people. The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle accepted at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

Soldiers and sailors, those who entered the service in the nation's defense, are entitled to the generous reward of a grateful republic.

The necessities of war called upon millions of workmen to leave their positions in industry and commerce to defend, upon the battle fields, the nation's safety and its free institutions. These defenders are now returning. It is advisable that they should be discharged from military service at the earliest possible moment; that as civilians they may return to their respective homes and families and take up their peace-time pursuits. The nation stands morally obligated to assist them in securing employment.

Industry has undergone great changes due to the dislocation caused by war production and transportation. Further readjustments in industry and commerce must follow the rehabilitation of business under peaceful conditions. Many positions which our citizen soldiers and sailors filled previous to enlistment do not exist today.

It would be manifestly unjust for the government after having removed the worker from his position in industry and placed him in military service to discharge him from the army or navy without having made adequate provision to assist him in procuring employment and providing sustenance until employment has been secured. The returned citizen soldier or sailor should not be forced by the bitter urgent neces-

sity of securing food and clothing to place himself at a disadvantage when seeking employment.

Upon their discharge, transportation and meals should be supplied to their places of residence. The monthly salary previously paid should be continued for a period not to exceed twelve months if employment is not secured within that period.

The federal and state employment bureaus should be directed to cooperate with trade union agencies in securing employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. In assisting the discharged soldier and sailor to secure employment, government agencies should not expect them to accept employment for less than the prevailing rate of wages being paid in the industry. Neither should any government agency request or require such discharged men to accept employment where a trade dispute exists or is threatened. Nor should the refusal on the part of any of these discharged soldiers or sailors to accept employment where trade disputes exist or are threatened or when less than the prevailing wage rate is offered, deprive them of a continuance of their monthly pay.

Legislation also should be enacted which will give the nation's defenders the opportunity for easy and ready access to the land. Favorable inducements should be provided for them to enter agriculture and husbandry. The government should assume the responsibility for the allotment of such lands, and supply the necessary capital for its development and cultivation, with such safeguards as will protect both the government and the discharged soldier and sailor.

CONCLUSION

No element in our nation is more vitally concerned with the problems of making for a permanent peace between all nations than the working people. The opportunities now before us are without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unhampered in shaping the principles and agencies affecting the wage-earners' condition of life and work.

By the light that has been given to it the American Federation of Labor has attracted to its fold over three millions of wage-earners and its sphere of influence and helpfulness is growing by leaps and bounds. By having followed safe and sound fundamental principles and policies, founded on freedom, justice and democracy, the American trade union movement has achieved successes of an inestimable value to the masses of toilers of our country. By adhering to these

principles and policies we can meet all problems of readjustment, however grave in importance and difficult of solution, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by a still greater success than that achieved in the past.

Given the whole-hearted support of all men and women of labor our organized labor movement with its constructive program, its love for freedom, justice and democracy will prove the most potent factor in protecting, safeguarding and promoting the general welfare of the great mass of our people during this trying period of reconstruction and all times thereafter.

The American Federation of Labor has attained its present position of dignity and splendid influence because of its adherence to one common cause and purpose; that purpose is to protect the rights and interests of the masses of the workers and to secure for them a better and a brighter day. Let us therefore strive on and on to bring into our organizations the yet unorganized. Let us concentrate our efforts to organize all the forces of wage-earners. Let the nation hear the united demand from the laboring voice. Now is the time for the workers of America to come to the stand of their unions and to organize as thoroughly and completely and compactly as is possible. Let each worker bear in mind the words of Longfellow:

"In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!"

The foregoing program was drafted by the Committee on Reconstruction, appointed by instruction of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at St. Paul., Minnesota, June 10-20, 1918.

The committee did not report on "Health Insurance," because that subject, by action of the St. Paul Convention, was referred to a special committee.

The committee's report was unanimously endorsed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

**Committee on
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